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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME VI

V. 6, pt. 1

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

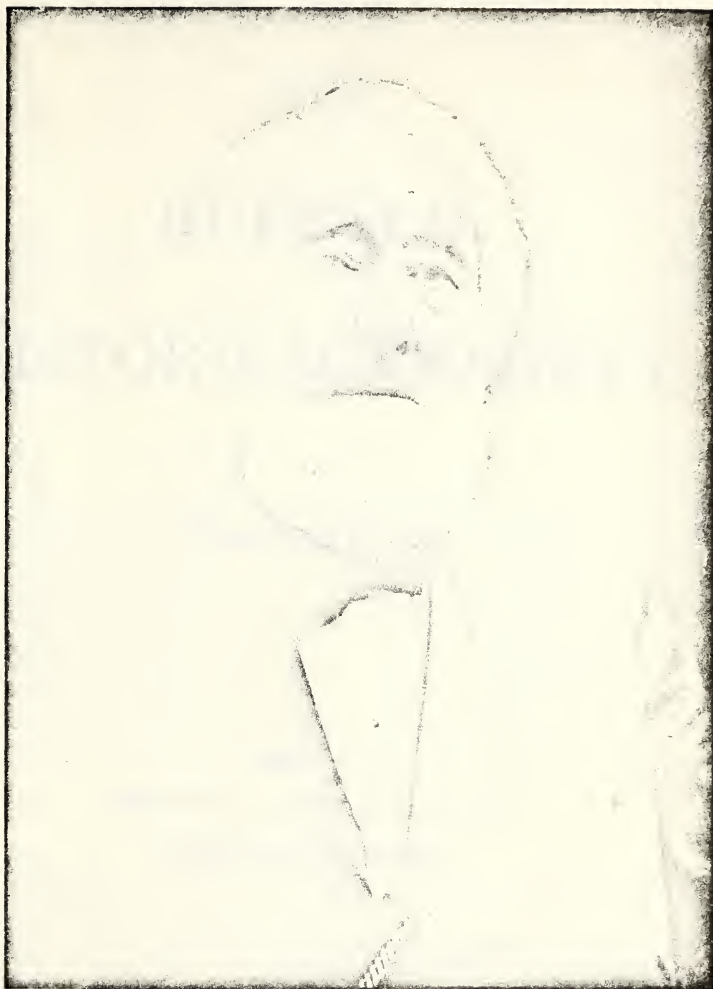
BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1903

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GEORGE STARR HAZARD,

PRESIDENT BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1890 AND 1892. DIED AUG. 7, 1903.

SEE APPENDIX B.

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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
BUFFALO
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VOLUME VI

EDITED BY
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BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1903

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SECRETARY FRANK H. SEVERANCE.
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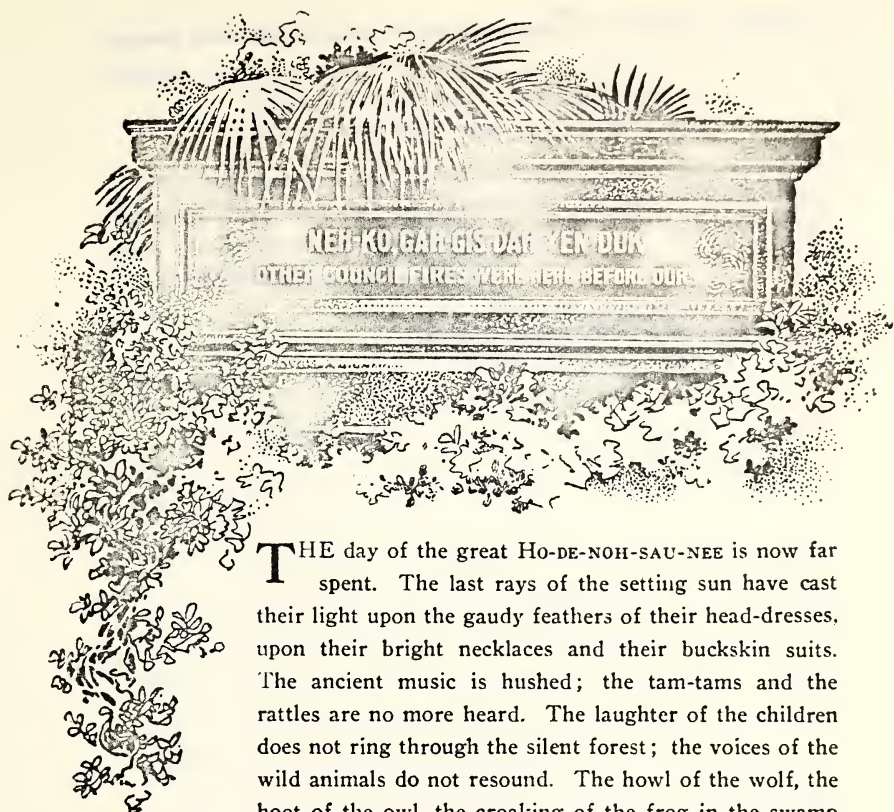
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The Mayor of Buffalo, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller, Superintendent of Education, President of the Board of Park Commissioners, and President of the Common Council, are also *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society.

* Succeeds George W. Townsend, died Oct. 24, 1902.

† Succeeds Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, died Oct. 6, 1903.



THE day of the great HO-DE-NOH-SAU-NEE is now far spent. The last rays of the setting sun have cast their light upon the gaudy feathers of their head-dresses, upon their bright necklaces and their buckskin suits. The ancient music is hushed; the tam-tams and the rattles are no more heard. The laughter of the children does not ring through the silent forest; the voices of the wild animals do not resound. The howl of the wolf, the hoot of the owl, the croaking of the frog in the swamp and the tree-toad among the leaves, the call of the squirrel—all these native voices that the Indian so well loved, all are still, they are part of the silent past.

No more is there a Keeper of the Wampum, for the Confederacy of the Great League is broken; the council fires are kindled no more; the runners have delivered their last message. The only traces of them left are what Mother Earth revealeth.

Here, at the Western Door, and on the banks of the Sken-dyuh-gwa-dih, the people of the Great League gave up their worldly customs to join their now spiritual forefathers. It is to their memory—to the memory of the HO-DE-NOH-SAU-NEE—that the tablet is en-

graved above the entrance to the grand hall of the Buffalo Historical Society:

NEH-KO, GAH-GIS-DAH-YEN-DUK.

OTHER COUNCIL FIRES WERE HERE BEFORE OURS.

Few and scattered are the remnants of the once-powerful confederacy; fewer still they who know of its customs. "A few more suns, and my people will only live in history." This saying of one of our great chieftains is now fulfilled.

HA-NON'-DA-A'-SUH,

("Keeper of the Hill," whose English name is Moses Shongo.)

PREFACE

IN OFFERING to its members and the public Volume Six in its Publication Series the Buffalo Historical Society believes that in interest and value it will be found fully equal to the preceding volumes. The Society was fortunate in securing for publication the group of papers by Mr. Henry R. Howland. (Pp. 17-161.) Drawn in large part from unpublished sources, dealing with men and episodes of first importance in the history of our region, and written in an exceptionally attractive style, these studies form a notable addition to the annals of the field which it is the function of the Buffalo Historical Society to explore.

Closely related to a part of Mr. Howland's contributions, are the group of missionary narratives and journals which follow. Some of these are printed from manuscripts which have long been in the possession of the Society. The journals of the Rev. Thompson S. Harris are a recent acquisition, the gift of the Rev. Lewis M. Lawrence, late of Iroquois, N. Y.; they were secured for the Society archives through the good offices of Mr. Henry R. Howland. While it is unlikely that the subject of early Protestant missions to the Indians or the white settlers in Western New York is ex-

haustively covered by this group of papers, it is believed that nowhere else has been brought together so much material bearing on the subject.

The "Life of Horatio Jones," by Mr. George H. Harris, which follows the narratives of early missions, is sufficiently commented on in the Introduction which precedes it (pp. 383-384). While it is deeply to be regretted that Mr. Harris was not spared to complete the work on the lines which he had planned, its high value, even in its present shape, as a contribution to Western New York history will be obvious to every student of the subject. Some unused material relating to Horatio Jones, and even more relating to his close friend, Jasper Parrish, remains in the hands of the Society, and may be utilized in a future volume. The editor hereby makes grateful acknowledgment, for assistance received, from Mrs. George H. Harris, now of Anaconda, Mont.; Mrs. Sarah E. Gunn, Leavenworth, Kas.; the Rev. E. W. Sears, Moscow, N. Y.; Mr. Lockwood R. Doty and Mr. J. D. Lewis of Geneseo. With the latter he visited Sweet Briar, Horatio Jones's old homestead, and other places associated with him in the Genesee Valley.

The Bibliography of the Niagara Region, begun in Vol. V., with a list of publications relating to the Upper Canada Rebellion, is continued in the present volume with a compilation of titles of books and pamphlets printed in Buffalo prior to 1850.

This volume, like its predecessor in the series, is sent free to life and resident members of the Society. From the abundance of valuable manuscript material in the possession

of the Society it is hoped that another volume, equal to the present in size and superior to it in some other respects, soon may be issued. The Society, however, has no guaranteed publication fund; and the extent of its publishing enterprises depends in good measure on revenues which in considerable degree rest on the public interest in its work. Happily, the outlook, not merely as regards its *Publications*, but in other endeavors to make the Buffalo Historical Society an institution useful to the public, was never brighter than at present.

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HON. JAMES O. PUTNAM,
DIED APRIL 24, 1903. SEE APPENDIX B

FROM LAKE ERIE TO MOROCCO.

THE DIPLOMATIC CONTROVERSY OCCASIONED BY
THE VISIT OF A VESSEL FROM THE GREAT
LAKES, WITH A BUFFALO CAPTAIN, TO
MEDITERRANEAN PORTS IN 1859.

BY GEORGE V. BROWN,

Former United States Consul at Tangier.

In the year 1859, the schooner *Republican*, owned by J. W. Sprague & Co. of Huron, Ohio, and commanded by Capt. Coville,* now a resident of Buffalo,† and living at Cold Spring, cleared from the port of Huron with a cargo of staves, and after passing through the Welland Canal into Lake Ontario, the River St. Lawrence, thence into the ocean, sped across the broad Atlantic and anchored in the beautiful and picturesque bay of Cadiz.

Shortly after casting anchor the health boat, a lateen manned by 12 sailors and containing three officers, paid a visit to the *Republican*. The officers were protected from the rays of the sun by a canopy which extended more than one-third the length of the craft, and, as they neared the vessel, the principal demanded, in broken English, the papers and letters of the American skipper. These were accordingly handed over the ship's side to one of the crew of the

*Capt. Stephen Coville; died at Huntsburgh, O., October 1, 1866, aged 46 years.

†In 1863, when this paper was written.

lateen who received them with a pair of tongs, and then, with the utmost composure, dipped up a bucket of salt water, into which the ship's papers were thrown. After undergoing for a few moments this pickling process, they were taken out and handed to the junior officer, who passed them to the principal. By him they were carefully examined, so carefully that they were discovered to be informal, and being handed back to Capt. Coville, that gentleman was informed that the Republican could not be admitted to pratique and must leave the port.

In vain did Capt. Coville assure the sanitary officer that he and his crew were in the enjoyment of perfect health; that he had sailed from a healthy port, and by the blessing of God they had experienced no sickness on board; that his voyage had been a long one, and that if ordered away from Cadiz—the market for his cargo—he knew not where to go or how to better his condition.

The huge mustachios and enormous spectacles, which were all that could be recognized of the power under the canopy, remained inexorable, and with a polite salutation, which a Spanish gentleman never omits, and a regret that he could be of no further service to *El Señor Capitan Americano*, the lateen, with its precious freight, gracefully moved off toward the quaint old city, a short quarter of a mile in the distance, leaving our poor countryman from Buffalo, some 4,000 miles from home, with a fair prospect of being obliged to return to America with no other benefit than the knowledge derived from an experience of the stringent sanitary regulations of Spain, and the gratification, not enjoyed by all our lake captains, it is true, of having it in his power hereafter to say that he had made a sea-voyage and seen Cadiz, and in the language of Byron, to describe it as

“A pretty town, I recollect it well.”

Within sight of the lofty domes, of the beautiful edifices, with their walls of purest white and balconies and verandas of the brightest green, adorned with flowering shrubs of the deepest and richest verdure, the fragrance of which seemed to impregnate the very air itself; of brilliant uniforms,

bristling bayonets and frowning battlements, with now and then a dashing cavalier curveting his graceful Andalusian steed and bowing low to passers-by; and within hearing of the rumbling of wheels, the cracking of whips, the martial calls of the bugle, and the sweet-toned bells of the Cathedral and other churches, the skipper of the Republican, as he turned to catch a last view of that orb, his faithful guide o'er the vast waste of water, then sinking in the west, felt all that desolation of heart and foreboding of the future, which are invariably experienced by the friendless and homeless of a great and bustling metropolis.

From the American Consul, Capt. Coville could obtain no consolation. The Consul said, and said truly, that Capt. Coville's owners ought to have known better than to have sent him out to Europe, and particularly to Spain, without the necessary papers, and that under the circumstances, it was out of his power to aid him.

Not knowing what to do, Capt. Coville remained at anchor until the third day, when he was notified that his departure must no longer be delayed.

"Where am I to go?" said the poor man to the officer who communicated to him this order. "I am a stranger to the customs, language and people of this part of the world, and I am anxious to do everything in my power to extricate myself from a dilemma in which an unforeseen omission has placed me. Do advise me, I pray you."

"Well," said the sanitary officer, who was no less a personage than the President of the Board of Health of Cadiz, and whose sympathies, as the sequel will show, were really, and to my own surprise when I learned it, enlisted in behalf of the American, "Be governed by my advice. Proceed, without delay, to Tangier, Morocco. Your Consul there is one of the Sanitary Board of that empire. Endeavor to procure an interview with him; he may possibly extricate you so that you can return here and discharge your cargo. I know of no other mode. *Vaya con Dios.*"* And again was the usual salutation made, and again, as before, did the boat gracefully glide off toward the town.

*"God be with you."

Capt. Coville thanked the officer for his kindness, and after returning his salutation, gave orders for immediately getting under way for the "Land of the Moor."

Whilst on his way to the port of Tangier, Capt. Coville is battling with the currents and chop seas of the Straits of Gibraltar, which are not unlike those in the English Channel, permit me to give you an extract from a despatch of our Consul at Cadiz, and also an extract from one of my own despatches to the Department of State:

"The quarantine regulations, although subject to the Central Board at Madrid, '*La Suprema Junta da Sanidad*,' are, at most, entirely under the control of the Local Board of Cadiz, who, by their arbitrary measures, greatly inconvenience and embarrass navigation, causing very frequently unnecessary detentions, and the incurring of heavy expenses, ordering vessels off to lazarettos—as only a quarantine of observation can be performed here—in the face of clean bills of health, upon mere reports, without any official information to warrant such extraordinary measures. Vessels clearing from ports having no quarantine communication with Cadiz are either ordered off or subjected to great annoyance and expense."

Although somewhat irrelative, I deem it my duty to record the following: An important provision, which is to be found in no other commercial law of the world, exists in the Spanish Commercial Code. It is often criticized, although good reasons are alleged in its favor. It provides that foreign vessels anchored in Spanish ports shall not be detained for debts which have not been contracted within the Spanish dominions, and for the benefit of the said vessel: therefore a bottomry bond, signed by a master of an American or other foreign vessel going to a Spanish port, can only be enforced upon the freight she may have earned, and in no case against the vessel herself.

The following is an extract from my own despatch: "The quarantine regulations of the empire of Morocco are framed and carried into execution by the Consular corps, who are invested by the Sultan with all the attributes of a regularly constituted Board of Health, each Consul, in alphabetical

order, assuming the powers and performing the duties of President of the Month. In order that commercial relations between the ports of Morocco, Cadiz and Gibraltar may not be interrupted, the decisions of the Health Board of the latter ports, when applicable to Morocco, are invariably adopted at Tangier."

I shall now have to digress a little in order to make plain the main point in this sketch. In the year 1856, the U. S. sloop-of-war *Jamestown*, the flagship of the African squadron, shortly after her arrival out to the coast of Africa, unfortunately touched at Madeira, where the cholera was prevailing, and was thus, in consequence of having a foul bill of health, debarred from entering Teneriffe or any of the ports of the Canary Islands, or, in fact, any other port in that part of the hemisphere. On that station, particularly, where it was so necessary, in consequence of the pestiferous miasma of the low lands lying along the coast, to keep off, after sunset, three miles from the shore, and even to have the principal portion of the labor performed by the natives, instead of by the seamen; and where, for the preservation of life, it was found so necessary occasionally to run over to some healthy port, this state of things was a subject of great consternation. Long did the officers of the ship ponder over it, but the dread prospect of being compelled to remain tabooed, until relieved at the expiration of their term of service on the station, still presented itself.

Some months subsequent to their visit to Madeira, and when all suggestions and plans to enable them to see their way out of the difficulty had failed, a young lieutenant who happened, some years previously, to touch at Tangier in the U. S. Steamer *Mississippi*, remarked to his brother officers of the wardroom, that he believed the U. S. Consul at Tangier, on the Mediterranean station, was a member of the Sanitary Board of the empire of Morocco; that if the *Jamestown* ran up to Tangier he was of opinion the Consul could in some measure help them out of their dilemma. This suggestion not only met the approval of Capt. Bell, but of the Commodore, and the *Jamestown* was soon afterward on her way to Tangier. On her arrival at that port, the Commo-

dore declined holding communication with the sanitary officer farther than to say that he had merely touched at Tangier for the purpose of communicating with the American Consul. He asked the sanitary officer to be kind enough to say to the Consul that for particular reasons, he begged him to do him the favor to dispense with the usual courtesy enjoined on commanders of men-of-war, of sending a boat on shore to invite the Consul on board, and that, in order to communicate to him personally some important intelligence, he hoped to have the pleasure of receiving a visit from him.

On receipt of this verbal message, I hastened to comply with the wishes of the Commodore, and on entering his cabin, the foul bill of health was exhibited to me. It so happened that I was then President of the Month, and the Jamestown being a man-of-war, I had a right, in accordance with the custom pursued by other members of the corps, to give her a clean bill of health, as American Consul, *visé* it as President of the Sanitary Board, and that without going through the form of submitting the matter to my colleagues. But this was not all. To enter a Spanish port, it was necessary to have the *visa* of the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires attached to the bill of health. With Don Carlos de España, the Spanish Chargé, I was on very intimate terms. I felt pretty sure I could depend on him. Therefore, when I was asked by the Commodore whether it was possible for me to aid him, I replied I thought it was. Capt. Bell, now in command of the Pacific Squadron, and Dr. Clymer, son-in-law of Admiral Shubrick, and the oldest surgeon in the Navy, were called into the cabin, and the good news announced to them. This soon reached the wardroom, then the forecastle, when the men, as I afterwards learned from Capt. Bell, asked permission to give three hearty cheers. The cheers were being given as I descended from the Commodore's cabin to the wardroom, and when I left the ship a salute of thirteen guns was given instead of eleven, as is customary in a harbor of the Barbary powers. In short, a clean bill of health was made out, the Board of Health *visa* attached, and I carried it to my Spanish colleague, told him exactly how I was situated, and how much I depended on his aid.

Without a word he took from me the document, and adding his *visa* and official seal, he said, as he returned it:

"*Señor mio*, there is much to object to in the quarantine regulations of Spain and Italy. We are here to give aid to our countrymen, as well as for other objects, and I deem it a privilege to aid a colleague either in forwarding the interests of commerce or in assisting men like your countrymen of the Jamestown, who at the peril of their lives are endeavoring to check an abominable traffic."

This was the feeling that then, and with one single exception since, pervaded the Consular Corps of Tangier. They were a little body of Christians in a semi-barbarous country, who, socially or officially, seemed more like a band of brothers than of men representing different nations; and they had only to be approached in a proper spirit to be induced to interest themselves in any reasonable object desired to be accomplished.

I relate the foregoing by way of preparation for what is to follow in reference to the American schooner *Republican*, and which will be found in striking contrast with the courtesy evinced toward the Jamestown; my friend Señor Don Carlos de España, a partisan of Espartero, having, in the meantime, been superseded by Señor Don Juan Blanco del Valle, a partisan of O'Donnell,* and a deputy of the Cortes from Algeciras, a town in Spain directly opposite Gibraltar.

On ascending, one morning, to the terrace of the consulate, which commanded a view of the bay of Tangier, I perceived, to my surprise, an American merchantman, lying at anchor in the most dangerous part of the bay, her position being so hazardous that I well knew that at low water she must inevitably be dashed to pieces on the rocks. At the same time I perceived the sanitary boat near her, and I wondered why the sanitary officer did not direct her to safe

*Leopold O'Donnell, count of Lucena, duke of Tetuan, Spanish general and statesman, who in his earlier years had championed the fortunes of the queen-mother, Marie Christine. At the period of Mr. Brown's sketch, O'Donnell was at the height of his picturesque political career, having formed, the year before (1858), a new Cabinet for Spain, in which he was both President of the Council and Minister of War. When Spain declared war against Morocco, Oct. 22, 1859, O'Donnell became commander in chief of the army, winning glory and a new title, "Duke of Tetuan," from the campaign. He died in 1867.

anchorage. It would soon be ebb-tide, and I became very uneasy. It appeared to me the sanitary officer was trifling with time in order to render destruction to the vessel certain. I became so uneasy that I did what is never done for a merchant vessel, and only on the arrival of a man-of-war; I raised the American flag. This had the desired effect. The sanitary boat hastened to the shore, and the sanitary officer made his appearance at the consulate.

"What is the matter?" I asked.

"I do not know," he replied. "I cannot exactly understand the captain, but I believe he is in trouble about a Spanish *visa* to his bill of health. I have given him *pratique*, subject to your and the President's orders, but directed him not to come on shore under an hour."

"Why did you not pilot the vessel to a safe anchorage?" I demanded. "You know very well she must go to pieces within an hour if she remains in her present position. Go out to her, without delay, pilot the vessel to safe anchorage ground, tell the captain I will examine his papers and do what I can for him, and you shall be compensated for your trouble."

The sanitary officer departed, and I returned to the terrace, still uneasy for the safety of the vessel. There I remained looking out on the bay, but no sanitary boat appeared on the way to the apparently doomed vessel. I waited so long, that making up my mind there was foul play going on, I started on a run to the beach, where I found the sanitary officer and his crew, not taking a siesta, it is true, but seated with their backs against the Custom House, smoking cigarettes, and listening with evident attention and pleasure, to one of the itinerant Arabian storytellers who gain a livelihood by wandering through the country recounting many of the wonderful stories which are to be found in the "Arabian Nights," of caliphs, viziers, enchantment and much that in our schoolboy days possessed for us such fascination and interest.

It is, perhaps, superfluous to say that the sanitary officer and his crew were not permitted, on that occasion, to hear the conclusion of the wonderful tale which had so interested

them. The tide was running out and we were soon alongside of the Republican. Knowing there was no time to lose, I took the responsibility of boarding the vessel and directing the captain where to safely anchor her.

This being attended to, Capt. Coville opened his case. It was no worse than I anticipated, and inasmuch as the sanitary officer of Cadiz had kindly advised him to run over to Tangier, I thought perhaps he had added to his kindness by writing favorably to Don Juan Blanco del Valle, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires. But this was not so. Don Juan and the sanitary officer of Cadiz were not friends, and Don Juan, who had lately been appointed to Tangier, had repelled our advances with all the hauteur of a Spanish hidalgo, so that not one of the chiefs of the corps was on intimate terms with him. This was unfortunate, for being avoided by all the corps, with the exception of a French attaché, also lately arrived, and who, in the absence of his chief, was left in temporary charge of the French mission, Don Juan became soured and determined to have his revenge. The arrival of the Republican, with informal papers, afforded him the opportunity.

On my return to the town I found that Señor Blanco had addressed a letter to the President of the Month, denying the right of the Republican to obtain pratique, and insisting on her being ordered off. The contents of this letter were communicated in a circular to the Consular Corps. I endeavored to conciliate my Spanish colleague as did the President of the Month, by informing him that the Spanish *visa* required by the laws of Spain before entering a Spanish port was not necessary on entering a Moorish port; that with the exception of said *visa*, which could not be obtained either at Huron or at Montreal in consequence of no Spanish consuls residing at either of those ports, the Republican's papers were all in order; that through the kindness of the Belgian Consul I was permitted to give an extract from a letter received that day from the President of the Board of Health of Cadiz, which corroborated all that had been already said, and which, in addition, expressed a hope that the Board of Health of Morocco, and the Spanish Chargé in particular,

would facilitate the poor American to get his papers in such a shape as would enable him to return to Cadiz and discharge his cargo.

All efforts at conciliation were unavailing. Blanco had the power to annoy, and he was not magnanimous enough to forego it.

The Neapolitan, Swedish and Belgian consuls were kind enough to call on him in order to explain what had been the usage at Tangier, and to appeal to his sympathies in behalf of the master of a vessel so far from his own country, and whose cargo had been shipped for a Spanish market. These gentlemen met with no success. Blanco persisted in his demand, and also for the dismissal of the sanitary officer. The Board decided against his demands, and he sent in his resignation as a member of that body. Pending the acceptance of his resignation, he called on the President of the Board, Mr. Reade (a son of the late Gen. Sir Thomas Reade, second in command at the Island of St. Helena when Napoleon was a prisoner there), and expressed his profound regret at the course he had pursued towards the Republican. He said he was satisfied the papers of the Republican entitled her to pratique; that he had been led into error through a letter received from Cadiz; that by his resignation as a member of the Board he had placed himself in a false position, not only with the Board itself, but with his own Government; that he had to express his gratification for the courtesy extended toward him, and that if a little path ("*un caminito*") could be opened for him, he would most cheerfully withdraw his resignation. The President then called on me, and said:

"Mr. Brown, we have carried our point—our courtesy, which Blanco referred to, has floored the Don. He admits his folly, he will of course grant his *visa*, and it devolves on you to open the way for his return."

I cheerfully consented to do it. I expressed in the circular the pain I had experienced at the announcement that we were to lose the valuable counsels of our honored colleague of Spain, and the regret that the arrival of a vessel from my own country should have been the cause; that I trusted he would be induced to reconsider his resolution and reflect that

in his resignation not only would the Board be deprived of the aid and assistance of an important member, but that the Government of Her Catholic Majesty would learn with regret that Spanish influence in the sanitary regulations of the empire of Morocco, a near neighbor, had been materially weakened by the resignation referred to of the diplomatic agent of Spain.

This was all gammon, of course, for Don Juan had but lately arrived; had had no experience, and was far more likely to obstruct than assist us in regulating the sanitary affairs of the empire. But I wanted his *visa*, and my colleagues wanted it quite as much as I did, for I had always cheerfully aided them in extricating from similar difficulties the vessels of their countrymen, and this was the first occasion they had been afforded to reciprocate. They therefore followed me in the circular, in the same eulogistic strain, and the Swedish Consul issued invitations for a *soirée* that evening, at his consulate, in order to bring us all together and smooth over the little asperities that had been occasioned by this the first interruption, for a number of years, to our usual harmony. Blanco did not attend.

Judge of our surprise, on reading in the circular, the following day, a lengthy and pompous effusion from Blanco, to the effect, that the urgent solicitations of his honored colleagues to withdraw the resignation he had felt it his duty to tender, placed him in a very painful position; on the one side was his duty, a duty which nothing could prevent him from performing; on the other the urgent solicitation of his associates not to withdraw from them his counsels in the regulation of the sanitary affairs of Morocco; that he had given the subject the most serious reflection, and he had decided to accede to the wishes of his colleagues and withdraw his resignation, which he now did, insisting at the same time that the American schooner *Republican* be ordered out of the bay—a courtesy which, he said, was due to the Government of Spain, whose authorities had decided not to admit her; and a severe reprimand to be administered to the sanitary officer.

A very disagreeable controversy, the only one in which I

participated during my long residence in Morocco, then ensued. I recapitulated the verbal statements of Blanco at his interview with the President of the Month. I said that an imposition on the Board had been practiced by some one, and I called on the President for an explanation. He replied by repeating the conversation at the personal interview, thus showing up Blanco to be a consummate humbug. Others participated in the controversy. Blanco lost temper, hazarded a menace, which being met in a proper spirit, he retired from the field humbled and discomfited, and was ever afterward known under the soubriquet of "The *Valiente*."

Failing to obtain the Spanish *visa*, the Republican sailed for Vigo, a port 1,000 miles distant from Tangier, and I forwarded a complaint with a copy of the correspondence, to Mr. Preston, our Minister at Madrid. Wishing to get rid of Blanco, the British Chargé, Sir John Drummond Hay, who returned from abroad during the controversy, enclosed to Mr. Buchanan, the British Minister at Madrid, a copy of the correspondence about the Republican, expressing at the same time a hope that he would coöperate with Mr. Preston in bringing the affair to the notice of the Spanish Government.

This was done. Mr. Preston and Mr. Buchanan proceeded together to the Foreign Office, and in the interview with Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, that gentleman expressed his annoyance at the discourteous and captious proceedings of Blanco, promised to give the subject prompt attention and lost no time in doing so.

It so happens that I have in my possession, the original despatch received from Mr. Preston after that interview, and after his addressing Marshal O'Donnell on the subject. During the war between Spain and Morocco, the foreign representatives were all obliged to escape to Gibraltar. My personal effects and the papers of the Government were all hastily placed on board a lateen, which ran on a sunken anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, filled and went down before the property could be got off. The papers and effects were subsequently recovered, but in such a confused state, that

private and official papers were found huddled together. Thus it came into my hands.*

In conclusion, I have to add that Señor Don Juan Blanco was subsequently withdrawn from Tangier, and satisfactory explanations tendered to Mr. Preston, who subsequently addressed to me a despatch to the effect that if I would forward to him a statement of the losses incurred by the master of the Republican, in consequence of the unwarrantable interference of the Chargé d'Affaires of Spain, in Morocco, he would recover the amount and transmit the same to his address. Capt. Coville was then in Cadiz and I addressed him to that effect, but he replied through Messrs. Bensusen & Co. of that city, that he had already given me a great deal of trouble, and that although thankful to me for this additional evidence of friendship, he declined troubling me any farther. I reported to Mr. Preston the reply of Capt. Coville, and thus the affair ended.

The Republican, having to beat all the way, was fourteen days in making the passage from Tangier to Vigo, the lazaretto of Spain. By the time she reached Vigo, Mr. Preston had made his complaint to the Spanish Government, and orders had been transmitted to Vigo not to detain the Republican, but to advise the captain to return to Cadiz. On the third day she therefore sailed for Cadiz, but being absent one month, the market for staves had in the meantime fallen \$25 a thousand, and the cargo had to be disposed of at \$95 per thousand for pipes and \$75 per thousand for hogsheads.

The Republican then left Cadiz with a load of salt, was overtaken by the equinoctial gales, and, after being disabled, ran 800 miles to Fayal, one of the Azores, where she was detained two months repairing. That brought it so late that she could not return home via Quebec, and Capt. Coville was consequently obliged to proceed to New York. Half his salt having been washed out, he took on at Fayal, at an enormous freight, 2,000 boxes of oranges, and made between Fayal and New York, the quickest passage on record.

*The despatch does not appear to have been deposited with the MS. of this narrative in the keeping of the Buffalo Historical Society; at any rate it has not been found.

The Republican then conveyed a general cargo of merchandise to Mobile; returned to New York; sailed again for Mobile, and was wrecked on the Great Abico, one of the Bahama Islands, some seventy-five miles from Nassau. Capt. Colville succeeded, however, in getting out his cargo which he disposed of at Nassau.

Thus ends my sketch of the diplomatic controversy occasioned by the visit of a gallant little craft from Lake Erie, with a Buffalo master, to the shores of the Don and the Mus-sulman, and her subsequent fate.

NOTE—The foregoing narrative is a portion of an unpublished manuscript which has been in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society for forty years. When it was written, in 1863, considerable attention was being paid to the development of trans-Atlantic trade in vessels from the Great Lakes. That portion of Mr. Brown's paper which we do not publish, discusses at length the possibilities of this trade, contingent on the condition of the Welland Canal and St. Lawrence route. For many years American-built vessels had found ready sale at the principal European ports, and at many a port on the Great Lakes vessel builders thought they saw prospective profits in sending home-built craft to Europe, even though there was no return voyage. The *Lily of Kingston* was the first vessel that passed down from the lakes to the ocean, bound for a European port. This was about 1847. She afterwards sailed in the Quebec and Liverpool trade, but was lost, it is believed, on her third ocean voyage. Prior to 1857 very few vessels passed down, via the Welland Canal and St. Lawrence, bound for Europe. The manuscript under notice gives a list of fifty-nine vessels which cleared from lake ports for Atlantic and European ports, between 1847 and 1860. Most of them sailed to Glasgow, Liverpool and London. In 1860 the *Messenger* cleared from Buffalo, the *Pierson* from Milan, O., the *Massillon* and *Valeria* from Cleveland and the *Scott* from St. Joseph, all for European ports. Several lake-built vessels engaged for a time in trade on the Mediterranean and the Danube, and then returned to the lakes. Prior to 1863, Norwegian craft had come into the upper lakes, and returned with outward-bound cargo; and English railway iron had been unloaded on the Buffalo docks direct from the ships into which it had been loaded at Liverpool. The lake-ocean trade did not prove as profitable as some of the ship builders and lumber dealers had anticipated, and for many years, except in sporadic cases, it practically ceased to exist.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

BY

HENRY R. HOWLAND.

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I. NAVY ISLAND

AND THE

FIRST SUCCESSORS TO THE GRIFFON.

From that day in 1679 when the Griffon, launched by LaSalle from his shipyard on the Little Niagara, spread her white sails to the favoring breeze on her adventurous voyage to Green Bay and returning laden with furs was lost in some fierce storm on Lake Michigan, until the British Conquest of Canada in 1760, the only attempt to follow in the path of Robert Cavelier as a ship builder was that of the Sieur de la Ronde Denis, Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, one of the most picturesque figures in the story of New France. From the year 1687 he had served the King as an officer of Marines and had distinguished himself by his conspicuous bravery whereby he had achieved many successes that had won him favor at Court. Twice by the varied fortunes of war he had been captured in naval engagements with British fleets, and he knew the prisons of Ireland and England well. Much of his service had been on the American coast, with which he had grown very familiar, and twice he had served the Governor of New France with excellent tact and judgment and with reasonable success when sent to Boston on special missions of diplomacy in Acadian affairs.*

In 1727 the Marquis de Beauharnois gave him the command at Chegouamigon Bay on the southwestern shore of

*Canadian Archives, Series F, Vol. 65, p. 125.

Lake Superior, where, on Madelaine Island, which is called *Isle de la Ronde* on Bellin's map of 1744, the Ottawa mission of *La Pointe du Saint Esprit* had been planted by the Jesuits as early as 1661.

Here he built a fortified trading post, established friendly relations with the Indians and with his characteristic energy began to explore the lake for the copper mines of which he heard report, and for the better furtherance of his purposes, some time prior to 1735,* constructed at his own expense a bark of forty tons burthen, being obliged to transport the rigging and materials for the vessel in canoes as far as Sault Ste. Marie. His shipyard was probably at Point aux Pins, seven miles above the Sault; and in this first of ships on Lake Superior, with his eldest son, afterwards commissioned Ensign Denis de la Ronde, he explored the coasts and islands to such effect that apparently in 1734 he was especially commissioned from Quebec to undertake the discovery and exploration of that famous copper region.

An interesting letter written 13th October, 1735, by the Governor, de Beauharnois and the Intendant Hocquart to the Marquis de Maurepas,† gives details of de la Ronde's progress in these discoveries and mentions that his associate, one Guillori, had just been sent to Montreal instructed to return by way of Detroit, bringing everything necessary for the construction and armament of another bark to be built in the following year, but no further mention is found of this second vessel nor does de la Ronde himself mention it in his detailed report to the Minister of his discoveries, written in 1739, in which, however, he expresses a strong desire to colonize the Lake Superior mining region, praising its climate and its soil, and wishes to build a ship of 80 tons at Detroit to take provisions and cattle to the Sault, where he would carry them by portage half a league to reëmbark them on his present vessel.‡

This plan, too, failed of its accomplishment, and the bark first built by de la Ronde seems to have been the only one. It

*1731? See Minnesota Hist. Socy. Col., Vol. V, p. 425.

†Canadian Archives, Series F, Vol. 63, p. 55.

‡Canadian Archives, Series F, Vol. 65, p. 125.

is undoubtedly to this vessel that Captain Jonathan Carver alludes in his account of Lake Superior in 1768. He states that the French while they were in possession of Canada had kept a small schooner on the lake.*

Of the excellent use which de la Ronde made of his bark in explorations of Lake Superior, and of its fate, we learn somewhat from a letter written by the well-known fur-trader, Benjamin Frobisher, to Dr. Mabane from Montreal, 19th April, 1784. He urges the establishment of a fortified post at Point aux Pins to command the entrance of Lake Superior, and adds: "Such a settlement would prove of public utility, and in the course of a few years give an opportunity to continue those searches on the North Side that were begun by the French and recently by Mr. Baxter, the former were obliged to relinquish their prospects from the only vessel they had on the Lake, being lost about the time this Country was Conquered."†

So, with this single exception, the waters of the upper lakes as well as those of Lake Erie saw no other boats than the canoes and bateaux of the Indians and the French during the period of French supremacy. Many of the French bateaux, however, were of large size and were sometimes spoken of as "vessels." La Hontan describes the canoes of the voyageurs and says: "When the season serves they carry little sails," and the British trader Alexander Henry in his "Travels" (p. 14) says: "The canoes are worked not with oars but with paddles and occasionally with a sail."

Such far-seeing eyes as those of Frontenac were open to the need of sailing vessels on Lake Erie, and he urges their importance in his letter to the King, November 2, 1681,‡ but the royal eyes were not as his own and nothing came of the appeal.

Capt. Pouchot, the French Commandant of Fort Niagara at the time of its capture in 1759, in his description of Lake Erie expresses his regret that the French had not built suit-

*"Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," by J. Carver. Edition 1779, p. 134.

†Canadian Archives B, Vol. 75-2, p. 75.

‡Docs. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. IX., p. 147.

able vessels for its navigation. He says: "Lake Erie has never been circumnavigated by any one capable of giving an exact account of the bearing of its shores, the depths of its bays, and the anchorages that occur, or the posts that might be established to derive advantage from its navigation. . . .

. . . It is to be observed that they only navigate this lake in bark canoes and very seldom in bateaux except from the Niagara River to Presque Isle. They never go except along the shores which are shallow, although a little distance out it is deep enough. It would have been useful to have built a small vessel with which from the month of May to the end of September, when the weather is always good, to sound and reconnoitre all the shelters around the lake, and then we might build vessels proper for this navigation which would have saved great labor and expense."*

In July, 1760, Colonel Henry Bouquet of the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans) was at Presque Isle (the present site of Erie, Pa.), with 100 Virginians and 150 Pennsylvania levies, building the royal blockhouse and establishing that military post, where he constructed four bateaux and a "Flatt," which was probably a large open scow provided with sloop-rigged sails. To his keen vision "coming events cast their shadows before," and realizing the necessities of the near future he wrote on the 15th of September, 1760, to General Robert Monckton at Fort Pitt:

"But a Vessel will be wanted next year I think the Timber should be cut and the Boards, Planes, etc., be prepared at the Landing Place at Niagara so as to be finished early next Spring. If you should approve of it, you will please to let me know how many of the carpenter- to send there, and as no more men can be spared from this place than will carry on the Batteau Service, Major Walters ought to have your orders to furnish a party from Niagara to cut and saw the Timber and assist the Ship Carpenter."†

Major Robert Rogers' detachment of 200 Rangers stopped at Presque Isle in October, 1760, when on its way to

*"Memoirs of the Late War in North America," by M. Pouchot, F. B. Hough's translation, Vol. II., pp. 157 and 159.

†Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. A 8, p. 174.

take possession of Detroit, and after Captain Donald Campbell with his 100 regulars had come up from Fort Pitt and had set out from Presqu' Isle November 2nd to reinforce the Rangers, Colonel Bouquet wrote to Monckton: "From the 1st of October the wind has blown without Interruption and continues still from the S. W. and almost every day heavy squalls and storms. One of our large Battoes was staved and two of the Rangers with the loss of 33 Barrels of Provisions the Rest arrived in a most shattered condition and the 24th the Sloop after having been twice near this Post was blown off and I fear is either perished or has been put back to Niagara. I have sent three times in quest of her, without success, she has a Boat with her and eighty Barrels of Provisions."*

The "Sloop" to which he refers was undoubtedly the "Flat" which he had built at Presqu' Isle for transporting provisions from Niagara, in its modest way the first of British sailing vessels on Lake Erie.

January 14, 1761, he wrote from Fort Pitt to General Monckton, who was probably at New York, "Mr. Vaughen is arrived and left Detroit well supplied till the Spring, when they must have meat and flour, as they have a different number of Battoes if Niagara can supply them they can do well till the Vessel is built. . . . I enclose you the list of Naval Stores etc. wanted for the construction of a deck'd vessel on Lake Erie, if they cannot be had at Oswego any Ship builder at New York or Philadelphia can provide them. . . . The Flat is not much hurt and Capt. Wheeler of the Rangers took back to Niagara the little Boat left with her."†

It would appear, however, that the "Flat" had been the victim of the autumn gales and had been blown ashore, for there is an apparent reference to this vessel in a letter dated Detroit, June 1, 1761, from Captain Donald Campbell to Colonel Bouquet:

"I forgot to mention to you in my last that Lieut. Lesslye says that the Vessel that was cast away last year on the north

*Canadian Archives Bouquet Col., Vol. A 8, p. 221; the letter is not dated.

†Canadian Archives Bouquet Col., Vol. A 8, p. 232.

side of the Lake might with very little Trouble be made fitt for service. I do not know if they intend any such for the Lake, such a vessel would be of great Service from this to Michillimackinac, as the last is very deep and good navigation. The French Batteaux we have found here are of a good size. I have been only able to repair five of them for want of pitch."* Once again Bouquet reminded Monckton of this necessity, writing from Fort Pitt June 20, 1761, "If we had a vessel upon Lake Erie it would be of great service to support the advanced Posts,"† to which the General replied from New York July 12, 1761: "In regard to the vessel the Genl is not yet determined about it as by the Acct of the Officers that have been over the Lake the Shores they met with make it a very dangerous navigation, tho' between Presqu' Isle and Niagara I believe it would doe very well."‡

It would appear, however, that when writing from New York he had not been fully informed of Sir Jeffrey Amherst's decisions, for on the 13th of July from Philadelphia, Monckton wrote to Bouquet, "The General had wrote me some days before that Sir William Johnson was well off to Detroit, to have a meeting with the Indians (of which I acquainted you in my last) and that two vessels are building above the Falls."§

June 30, 1761, Major William Walters, then in command at Fort Niagara, wrote to Colonel Bouquet: "Lieutenant Robertson with carpenters and materials has arrived to build the vessels on Lake Erie,"|| and in a letter of August 24th the Major complained that he had been greatly hurried that summer by various matters, including "assisting in building two vessels for Lake Erie."¶ In Sir William Johnson's diary of his journey to and from Detroit in the summer of 1761 he writes at Fort Niagara Sunday, July 26th: "At seven in the morning I set off with Colonel Eyre, Lieutenant Johnson, my son and DeCouagne, for the island whereon the vessel is

*Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 16, p. 219.

†Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 23-1, p. 89.

‡Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 8, p. 245.

§Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 8, p. 303.

||Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 16, p. 86.

¶Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 121.

building for exploring the lakes Huron and Michigan, which island is about two miles from Little Niagara, on the place where Shabear Jean Coeur lived. . . . The Schooner, building upon the island, was in such forwardness as to be ready to launch in about ten days, but was put a stop to in order to build a boat, pinnace fashion for Major Gladwin's service. . . . Dined with John Dies after which Colonel Eyre went in a boat to explore the Chippaway river, the entrance of which is about two miles above the Great Falls. In another branch of said river, our people found a great quantity of pine planks of several dimensions, sawed by hand, which they used in making the vessels."

This John Dies, who was evidently the master ship builder, had been prior to this in the Government service at Crown Point and elsewhere during the French War and his name occurs frequently in the elder (James) Montresor's journals. The shipyard was on Navy Island in the west branch of the Niagara River about a mile above the entrance to Chippewa Creek where the sawed timbers left by the French had proved so opportunely serviceable. Upon the French maps Navy Island is called *Isle-la-Marine*, and doubtless took its name from its use by the French when building their bateaux.

In allusion to this also the Senecas called it *Ga-o'-wah-ge-waah*,—"the big canoe island."* Its subsequent use by the British doubtless confirmed their opinion as to the peculiar fitness of their name.

While Sir William Johnson was at Detroit the schooner was launched and taken up the river to an anchorage somewhere near Squaw Island, for upon his return Sir William notes in his diary Sunday, October 4, 1761: "The land on the other side of the lake is in view. Embarked at 7 o'clock and rowed near shore about six miles. Then set off across for the river (Niagara) where we met Captain Robinson sounding. It is three, four and five fathoms water near the mouth of the river. We went on board the Schooner which lay about a mile from the entrance of the lake in the river, where the current runs six knots an hour. She has about ninety barrels of provisions on board and twenty-four bar-

*"The Niagara Frontier," by O. H. Marshall, p. 27.

rels for Gage's sutler. Dined on board and left the vessel about 5 o'clock and encamped about ten miles down the river."

This was the schooner Huron, the first decked sailing vessel to plow the waters of Lake Erie since the days of the Griffon. Lieut. Schlosser wrote to Col. Bouquet August 22, 1761, that she drew seven feet of water when loaded and carried six guns and was "to be commanded by Lieut. Robertson of Montgomery's Regiment."*

On the 5th of October, 1761, Sir William Johnson wrote in his diary: "Called to see Jno. Dies on the island where he is building a sloop which will not be finished this season he says, as he goes down in a fortnight, his men being sickly."

This second vessel was the sloop traditionally known to us as the Beaver, built to carry ten guns,† which apparently was not completed and launched until late in 1762.

Whether the equipment of the schooner Huron was incomplete does not appear, but it was many months before she made her trial voyage to Detroit and in the meantime the patience of the little garrison at that post was sorely tried by the delay. October 5, 1761, Capt. Donald Campbell wrote to Capt. Elias Meyer at Sandusky: "Noe accounts of the Vessel being in the Lake, she has but fifteen Barrels of flour on Board, and none at Niagara, a Poor Prospect for this Place and the Posts depending."‡

October 12, 1761, he writes to Colonel Bouquet: "There is noe account of the Vessel being come out of the River, she is chiefly loaded with Pork, there is no flour at Niagara, they expect it by way of Oswegatchie.§

He again wrote to Colonel Bouquet November 8, 1761: "Major Wilkins writes me they despair of the vessels getting in to the lake this season which is a great disappointment to this Post."|| And again, 28th November, 1761: "The vessel is now Dispaired of here and all our dependens on three Batteaux from Niagara which we expect Daily."¶

*Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. V. A 17, p. 116.

†Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. V. A 17, p. 116.

‡Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 225.

§Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 238.

||Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 277.

¶Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 17, p. 304.

No further reference occurs to either vessel until August 1, 1762, when Capt. Joseph Schlosser writes from Niagara to Colonel Bouquet: "The vessel is out of the River and I believe already arrived at Detroit,"* and August 26, 1762, Captain Campbell advises Colonel Bouquet "The Vessel is arrived but brought only 40 Barrels of Provisions. . . . The vessel is to proceed to Michillimackinac tho' she has got but little Provisions on board."†

On the 4th of September, 1762, Captain George Etherington wrote from Detroit to Colonel Bouquet: "I was in hopes to have gone in the Schooner to Michillimackinac, but the master of her who has been sounding Lake St. Clair is returned and says there is not water enough to get the vessel into the River Huron, so that I leave this to-morrow in Batteaux."‡ September 24, 1762, Lieut. Jehu Hay wrote from Detroit to Bouquet: "As you have undoubtedly heard that there is not water enough in Lake St. Clair to carry the Vessel through to Lake Huron, I flatter myself the Inclosed copy of a sketch of that Lake taken by Mr. Brehm, will not be disagreeable, especially as you will see the great difference between the depth of the water at the time Mr. Brehm sounded it, and what it is at the present as sounded by Capt. Robinson of the Schooner Huron, the third and fourth Instant, which it is suppos'd must be caused by some moving sand banks, and not by the falling of the water, as some imagine, for notwithstanding the water in the Upper Lakes ebbs (as we are informed) for several years successively, yet the greatest difference that has been known in the depth of the water here, has not exceeded five feet."§

It has been generally supposed that the schooner which bore so gallant a part in the defence of Detroit in 1763 was called the Gladwin. Parkman speaks of the vessels as "two small armed schooners, the Beaver and the Gladwin,"|| and his error has been constantly repeated. None of the contemporaneous narratives gives the names of the vessels, but

* Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 18.2, p. 321.

† Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. 18.2, p. 387.

‡ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., Vol. 18.2, p. 396.

§ Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 18, p. 418.

|| Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol. 1, p. 224.

the evidence of Lieut. Jehu Hay is confirmed by the report in the Gladwin MSS. of a Court of Inquiry held at Detroit July 8, 1763, when Lieut. Cuyler stated that at the time of the taking of Presqu' Isle by the Indians, June 20-22, 1763, he was on board the schooner Huron on his return from Niagara to Detroit.*

The anonymous "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" makes it very clear that at that time there were but two sailing vessels upon the lake, invariably referred to as "the Schooner" and "the Sloop," and as "the Schooner," according to that authority reached Detroit June 30, 1763, with provisions and ammunition and with a reinforcement of fifty men, its identity with the Huron is clearly established. Moreover, it appears by an "Official return July 30, 1778, of all vessels built on the lakes since the year 1759"† preserved at Ottawa, that the Gladwin was not built until 1764.

Both the Huron and her companion the Beaver, if that was really the sloop's name, were of the greatest service to the beleaguered garrison of Detroit in its defense against the tireless efforts of Pontiac and his followers during the memorable siege. With their guns they could protect two sides of the fort, and leaving their anchorage as they did on several occasions they could and did carry terror to the Indian camps. The savages tried to destroy them by twice sending down blazing fire rafts which fortunately floated past them without doing injury. On the 13th of August, 1763, both the Huron and the Beaver sailed for Niagara to procure much-needed supplies and reinforcements and reached their destination safely. On the night of the 3d of September the Huron returning loaded with provisions, entered the Detroit River. Her master's name was Horst, the mate's name was Jacobs and they had a crew of ten men. With them were six Iroquois Indians, supposed to be friendly, who were unwisely set ashore in the morning and beyond doubt went at once to Pontiac, for after nightfall of September 4th, when anchored about nine miles below the fort, the schooner was attacked by 350 Indians in their birch canoes. The

*Gladwin's MSS., Mich. Pioneer & Hist. Socy. Col., Vol. 27, p. 637.

†Canadian Archives, Haidimand Col., B 144, p. 97.

crew made a gallant defense, but the captain and two of his men were killed, four were seriously wounded and the vessel would have been captured had not the mate Jacobs called out to blow up the schooner. This caused a panic among the savages, who escaped as best they could, not daring to renew the attack, and on the following day, September 5th, the Huron reached the fort. General Amherst caused a "Relation of the Gallant Defense" of the schooner to be published in the New York papers and ordered a medal to be struck and presented to each of the men.

The sloop Beaver was less fortunate than her consort. She sailed from the Niagara River about the 26th or 27th of August, 1763, with provisions and supplies, "with about eighteen officers and men of the 17th and 46th Regiments" under command of Captain Hope (17th) and Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) John Montresor of the Engineers, whose well-known name now appears for the first time in the history of the Niagara frontier.*

She had brought with her from Detroit a lad of seventeen named John Rutherford, whose experiences as related by himself furnish one of the most interesting episodes in the story of Pontiac's war. He was a nephew of Walter Rutherford of New York, a partner in the trading firm of Livingston, Rutherford & Syme of Detroit, and had been sent by his uncle in charge of goods for James Sterling, the managing partner at that post. At the outbreak of hostilities he had been captured by the savages and adopted by a Chippewa chief. After having been purchased from his master by a French habitant, one Antoine Cuillierier, moved by his friendship for Sterling, who, after the war ended, married his daughter Angelique, the lad was again made captive, but aided by a Frenchman whom Sterling had bribed, he escaped to the fort, much to his own joy and that of his friends. When the Beaver sailed for Niagara Sterling had obtained leave from Major Gladwin to have some goods for his firm brought back by her from Niagara and requested young Rutherford to take charge of them. "Being anxious," he

*Letter Genl. Amherst to Col. Bouquet, September 25, 1763. Canadian Archives, Bouquet Col., A 4, p. 413.

says, "to do what office was in my power, for the benefit of a company with which my uncle was connected, I agreed to run the hazard of the undertaking and accordingly embarked on board the ship." His story of the ill-fated return voyage is graphic. "We had only set sail one day, when the vessel sprang a leak, and was half filled with water before it was observed. The pumps were all set agoing, but were of little use, so after having thrown all the heavy artillery and some other things overboard, we found that the only way to save ourselves was to crowd sail to the land and run the vessel ashore; but it was the opinion of all that she would go to the bottom before this could be effected. While dread and consternation were depicted on the countenance of every one, I was surprised to find myself the least moved on the occasion, which must have been owing to my having been so much exposed and inured to danger some time previous. At a time when all were agitated in a lesser or greater degree, some stripping to swim, others cursing, swearing and upbraiding their companions for not working enough at the pumps, others praying, besides some who were drinking, I looked calmly on the scene, after I had become conscious I could be of no more use. When we were at the worst, and expecting every one to go down, one boat which was our last hope broke adrift; then, indeed, our situation was a dismal one. The cries and shrieks of a naval officer's lady with three children affected me much more than my own condition. It was really a piteous sight; the mother held two of her children in her arms, while the other little innocent was making a fruitless attempt to stop the water with her hands which was running into the cabin, and already flooded it to the depth of several inches. 'She did this,' she said, 'to prevent the water from drowning her mamma.' At last, to the inexpressible joy of all on board, the vessel struck upon a sand bank within fifty yards of the shore. The difficulty now was how to be conveyed to land, which it was desirable should be done with immediate haste, as we every moment dreaded being dashed to pieces by the violence of the surf of the lake. In this situation we should have been much at a loss, had not Captain Montresor of the Engineers, bravely undertaken

to swim ashore to endeavor to bring off the boat which had stranded there. The distance was considerable and the waves running high and there was much danger of Indians being there on the watch; he, nevertheless, accomplished the bold adventure, and brought off the boat, by which means we all got safely on the shore."*

Here they made a rudely fortified camp with a breastwork, maintaining themselves against straggling parties of Indians until Captain Gavin Cochrane (60th) with boats and assistance reached them from Niagara. Rutherford says that they finally "marched over the carrying place at the Falls just three days after the Indians had defeated our troops in a rencontre. We saw about eighty dead bodies, unburied, scalped and sadly mangled." This would fix the date of their return as September 16, 1763, the massacre at the Devil's Hole having occurred September 13th, and is not consistent with his statement that they were detained at their fortified camp twenty-four days, for the wreck of the Beaver is stated by General Amherst to have occurred August 28th† and the "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" states, "October 3d. The Schooner again returned to the Fort, in her came Capt. Montresor who informed us that the Sloop was lost the 28th of August between Presqu' Isle and Niagara and the Provisions and Guns were all lost except 185 Barrels which they brought in the Schooner; the Rigging was all carried to Niagara."

A letter from Colin Andrews to Sir William Johnson is dated "Cat Fish Creek, fourteen miles in Lake Erie Sept. 9th, 1763," and states, "The 8th ultimo we have been cast away at this place."‡ This was apparently simply a clerical error in writing the date. Mr. O. H. Marshall identifies this location of the wreck of the Beaver as being near the mouth of Eighteen Mile Creek, where in 1811 remains of an old

*Rutherford's Narrative, Transactions Canadian Institute, September, 1893, p. 229. See also Publications Buffalo Historical Society, Vol. V., pp. 1-4.

†Amherst to Bouquet, September 25, 1763; Can. Archives, Bouquet Col., A 4, p. 413.

‡Unpublished MSS. Sir Wm. Johnson, in N. Y. State Library, Vol. VII., p. 142.

stockade were discovered and where on the beach close at hand, two small cannon were found.*

As to the subsequent career of the schooner *Huron* the records are silent. With the raising of the siege of Detroit she disappears from view and as no mention is made of her in the following year, it seems probable that like her consort, she, too, was wrecked and that both of these vessels, the first ships to sail Lake Erie since the Griffon's voyage, in each case after a brave service sadly ended, found their graves beneath its stormy waters, as have so many that have followed them in the growth from those small beginnings, of the mighty commerce of our lakes to-day. Both the *Huron* and the *Beaver* had practically demonstrated the need of more vessels of a like character for lake service and the Navy Island shipyard was a busy spot in the autumn of 1763 and throughout the following year.

October 29, 1763, General Amherst wrote from New York to General Bradstreet: "I arrived here on Thursday morning and gave Immediate Orders for getting Ready the Iron Work for the Schooners that are Intended to be Built for the Service of Lake Erie &c. A sufficiency for one of 60 Tons, with the Rigging, will be sent on Saturday next; & Preparation shall be made for two more and sent up as fast as Possible; I need not Desire You to Forward the whole in the best manner you can."†

The schooner *Victory* was apparently the first of these new ships from the Navy Island shipyard. According to the "Official return July 30th, 1778," previously mentioned, the *Victory* carried six guns and the work of her construction was so expedited that she was launched before the close of navigation in 1763, and at once made her first voyage to Detroit, where she wintered. In April, 1764, Captain John Montresor was ordered to Niagara to construct defensive works along the portage and incidentally to "entrench the Navy Yard," and in his Journal under date of May 6th he mentions that "the Schooner *Victory* sailed from Detroit

* Publications Buffalo Hist. Socy., Vol. I., p. 212.

† Unpublished MSS., Bradstreet & Amherst, N. Y. State Library, p. 141.

April 20th," and added that "the river of Detroit was open the first day of March."

According to the "Official return" (1778) a sloop of eight guns had been built at Navy Island in 1763, and Montresor's journal gives credence to this statement. May 5, 1764, while at Oswego, he notes the arrival of two vessels from Niagara bringing accounts "that the Sloop, had arrived from Detroit loaded and departed back from thence," and while at Niagara his journal evidently refers to the same vessel in an entry June 12, 1764, "Sailed the Sloop to the Detroit."

June 20th his journal states: "Two vessels now launched from Navy Island and the 3rd on the Point. By advice from the Rapids the Schooner first launched got safe up the Rapids and into Lake Erie."

June 27th, "The Schooner (the second) is at the foot of the Rapids yet. The 2 new Schooners carry 200 Barrels each and the old one 200, which makes 1100 each trip."

July 2nd, "The 2d Schooner got into Lake Erie."

July 3rd, "The Schooner that got up the Rapids last night into the Lake was hauled up by 150 men without the benefit of either wind or the Capstans and loaded with Three Hundred Barrels of Provisions for Detroit." According to the "Official return," these were the schooner Gladwin of eight guns and the schooner Boston with a similar armament. Montresor's journal states that the Gladwin sailed for Detroit July 4th and returned to Fort Erie July 19th. The Boston was at Detroit July 27th, but perhaps upon her second voyage. In the meantime the sloop Royal Charlotte of ten guns, had been launched from Navy Island and sailed for the river entrance July 4th. She was built, Montresor said, "chiefly for the navigation of Lake Huron."

All of these vessels were kept busily employed during the year 1764. While Montresor was at Detroit, whither he had accompanied Bradstreet's expedition, he notes in his journal September 19th, that "the Sloops and 2 Schooners" were anchored by the fort and that the Gladwin had been sent to Michillimackinac with provisions. The "Diary of the Siege of Detroit" mentions under date of October 20, 1764: "This

day the Sloop Charlotte sail'd for Fort Erie with 21 Packs of Peltry; being the last of 1464 Packs that were sent from this since last April."

The "Official return" states that the sloop of eight guns built in 1763 (whose name we do not know) was "cast away in 1764." It is somewhat curious that the same authority states concerning the schooner Victory and the schooner Boston, that each was "laid up and burned by accident." No dates are given, but at the close of 1766 both vessels had gone into winter quarters at Navy Island and January 2, 1767, Sir William Johnson wrote to General Gage: "I have received Letters from Niagara informing me of the burning of one of the Vessels at Navy Island on 30th Nov. last, which was at first ascribed to the Indians, but the Commissary with others went thither the next morn'g to view the remains and made a Report to the Commanding Officer in writing from which and from the substance of his Letter it appears that a party of Men had set out before day Light on that day for Fort Erie and it being very Cold and the Crossing tedious had probably kindled a fire wch was it seems usual and which they did not take sufficient pains to Extinguish, there does not appear any probability of the Indians having done this, or that they should destroy one Vessel when they might as easily have burned both."*

The Gladwin saw several years of useful service. In his "Travels" Capt. Jonathan Carver states: "In June, 1768, I left Michillimackinac and returned in the Gladwyn Schooner, a vessel of about Eighty tons burthen over Lake Huron to Lake St. Claire where we left the ship and proceeded in boats to Detroit."† At that time her master's name was Jacobs, evidently the gallant mate of the Huron whose courage had saved the vessel from capture by the savages in September, 1763, but he would seem to have been a reckless soul. for Carver further states: "The Gladwin Schooner which I since learn was lost with all her crew on Lake Erie, through

*Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol II., pp. 483, 485.

†"Travels through the Interior Parts of North America," by J. Carver. Edition 1779, p. 150.

the obstinacy of her Commander who could not be persuaded to take in sufficient ballast.”*

This must have occurred subsequent to June 26, 1770, for in a letter of that date to General Haldimand, General Gage mentions the “bad state” of both the Gladwin and the Charlotte and suggests that their material may be used for a vessel.†

According to the “Official return,” however, the sloop, Royal Charlotte “remained in service till decayed.” She was the last of the King’s ships built on Navy Island, but this once famous though now forgotten shipyard furnished the seven ships that were the first of the Royal Navy on Lake Erie and the Upper Lakes.

*“Travels through the Interior Parts of North America,” by J. Carver. Edition 1779, p. 155.

†Canadian Archives, Haldimand papers, B. 19, p. 127.

II. THE NIAGARA PORTAGE

AND ITS

FIRST ATTEMPTED SETTLEMENT UNDER BRITISH RULE.

The summer of 1761 was by no means a happy one for Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Crown "in the Northern Parts of North America." The western Indians were restless under the recent British occupancy of the posts, and felt that they were treated with parsimony and neglect in marked contrast to the bountiful paternalism of French rule; they were exasperated by the continual intrusion of white settlers upon their lands, and French emissaries were active in stirring up their resentment. This feeling of discontent was shared by his own especial wards, the Six Nations of the Iroquois, and the Senecas, who were the hereditary keepers of the Western Door of the Long House, were at the point of open rebellion. On the 17th of June Captain Donald Campbell, in command at Detroit, sent a messenger to Major William Walters at Fort Niagara with the alarming intelligence that the Senecas had sent war belts to the western tribes, urging them to take up the hatchet in furtherance of a general plot to surprise all the posts, including Niagara and Fort Pitt. It was time for prompt action, and General Amherst ordered a detach-

ment of 300 men under command of Major Henry Gladwin sent to the relief of the Northern posts and at the same time requested Sir William Johnson to visit Niagara and Detroit to conciliate the Senecas and the western tribes, as well as to regulate the fur trade and correct its abuses. The Superintendent was wise and tactful in his dealings with the Indians, and his influence was potent with the Six Nations. On the 24th of July Sir William reached Fort Niagara, which he had besieged and captured from the French in 1759. Here he promptly began the arduous duties of his special mission, holding councils with and listening to the complaints of the neighboring tribes. Soon, however, he encountered what seems to have been a disagreeable surprise, mentioned in his diary under date of Sunday, July 26th:

"At seven in the morning I set off with Colonel Eyre, Lieutenant Johnson,* my son,† and DeCouagne,‡ for the island,§ whereon the vessel is building for exploring the Lakes Huron and Michigan, which island is about two miles from Little Niagara, on the place where Shabear Jean Coeur lived. There is a house built within quarter of a mile of said place by one Stirling for the use of the Company, viz: Rutherford, Duncan etc., who intend to monopolize the whole carrying place by virtue of a permit from General Amherst."

Three days later (July 29, 1761,) he wrote from Niagara to General Amherst, reporting a meeting with several chiefs of the "Chipewaigh" nation "and some Mississageys," and added: "I see plainly that there appears to be an universal jealousy amongst every nation, on account of the hasty steps they look upon we are taking towards getting possession of this country, which measures, I am certain, will never subside whilst we encroach within the limits which, you may recollect, have been put under the protection of the King in the year 1726, and confirmed to them by him and his successors ever since, and by orders sent to the governors not to allow any of his subjects settling thereon; which they were ac-

*Lieutenant Guy Johnson of the "Independents," his nephew, who was his private secretary.

†John Johnson, afterward Sir John Johnson, his successor in office.

‡Jean Baptiste DeCouagne, Indian interpreter at Fort Niagara.

§Navy Island.

quainted with, by his late majesty, in your speech of the twenty-second of April, 1760, delivered by Brigadier General Monckton. You then promised to prevent any person whatsoever, from settling or even hunting therein; but that it should remain their absolute property. I thought it necessary to remind your Excellency thereof, as the other day on my riding to the place where the vessels were building, I found some carpenters at work finishing a large house for one Mr. Stirling near the falls and have since heard others are shortly to be built thereabouts. As this must greatly add to the Indians' discontent, being on the carrying place, and within the very limits, which, by their agreement, they are not so much as allowed to dispose of, I should be glad to know whether I can acquaint them that those people will be ordered to remove or not, and I hope from your Excellency's answer to be able to satisfy them on that head."*

Sir Jeffrey Amherst's reply was sent from Albany, 9th August, 1761, in which he wrote: "The Indians need be under no apprehension of Losing their Lands, it never was my Design to take an Inch from them, unless when the necessity of the service obliges me to it, and that they have been warned of, so that they need not take any umbrage at the Settlements on the Carrying place; where People Horses, Carriages etc. are absolutely necessary to keep up the Communication with the upper posts; and those that are now there for that purpose have no grant of those Lands, but are only upon sufferance till His Majesty's pleasure is known, and until that is known they must not be removed."†

This decision was by no means to Sir William's liking and when he revisited Little Niagara upon his return from Detroit his chagrin appears in the following entry in his diary:

"Niagara, Thursday October 6 [1761]. The Major [Walters], DeCouagne etc. complain of Stirling monopolizing the trade by keeping a great store of goods at Little Niagara, which will prevent any Indians coming to the fort, or

*Unpublished MSS. of Sir Wm. Johnson in N. Y. State Library Vol. V., p. 111.

†Unpublished MSS. of Sir Wm. Johnson in N. Y. State Library Vol. V., p. 112.

under the eye of the garrison, so that they [i. e. Stirling and others] may cheat the Indians as much as they please in spite of all regulations."

It is evident that Sir William Johnson was greatly annoyed and so was led to speak unjustly of one of the best respected and most noteworthy characters in the history of the early British fur trade.

When the Marquis de Vaudreuil surrendered Canada on the 8th of September, 1760, the British lost no time in taking possession of such of his western posts as had not already come into their hands. On the 12th of September Major Robert Rogers with 200 of his famous Rangers was dispatched from Montreal westward by way of Niagara and Presqu' Isle, where he was reinforced by Captain Donald Campbell with 100 regulars sent from Fort Pitt, and on the 29th of November the troops quietly took possession of Detroit.

This opened the way of approach to the northern fur trade which had been so long coveted by the British and although the season was then too far advanced to send up goods from Albany, so that there was a great shortage of provisions and other supplies for the Indians during the winter, the spring of 1761 saw many traders on their way to the Northwest.

One of the most enterprising and successful of the eastern merchants was John Duncan, a Scotchman who had been a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment of Foot, but had retired from the service about 1758 and had established a large and successful business at Schenectady.* He was quick to take advantage of the opening up of western trade and early in 1761 became associated with Captain Walter Rutherford† of New York and his brother-in-law, the well known Peter Van

*He was first commissioned as an Ensign in the 44th, June 2, 1755, and as Lieutenant, April 25, 1757.

†Walter Rutherford was a son of Sir John Rutherford of Edgerston in Scotland, and served in the British army from the age of seventeen until the close of the French War. His commission as a Captain in the 60th Regiment of Foot (Royal Americans) was dated 30th December, 1755. He married a daughter of James Alexander, whose son was the famous American General, William Alexander, better known as Lord Sterling.

Brugh Livingston,* in a mercantile enterprise which apparently contemplated not only establishing a trading post near the upper end of the Niagara portage, but also the building up of a permanent settlement at that desirable location, transporting families with their cattle, etc., to be established there.

To this end they applied to General Amherst for a grant of land "on the carrying place" and were given provisionally 10,000 acres for their purposes. Their representative was James Sterling, who had been a commissary of provisions under General Haldimand in the French war; and as has been seen, with his accustomed energy, he was early on the ground. His storehouse was near completion by the close of July, 1761, and well filled with goods soon thereafter, much to the vexation of the neighboring Indians who resented this encroachment, and of their loyal protector, Sir William Johnson, who found himself unable to dislodge this well-favored and licensed intruder.

Albert H. Porter in his interesting "Historical Sketch of Niagara from 1678 to 1876," says: "The large house referred to was undoubtedly that afterwards occupied by John and Philip Steadman. The current tradition is, that the same building was first erected at Fort Niagara and used by the French as a chapel and was afterwards taken down and rebuilt at the place named. This is rendered quite probable from the fact that a chapel was standing in the fort in 1757, which disappeared and was never otherwise accounted for, and also that on the building occupied by Steadman—presumed to be the same—there was a steeple or belfry, an ap-

*Peter Van Brugh Livingston, born at Livingston Manor near Albany in 1710, was a brother of Philip Livingston who signed the Declaration of Independence, and also of William Livingston, the celebrated Governor of New Jersey during the Revolution, whom the British called the "Don Quixote of the Jerseys". He lived in New York City on the east side of Hanover Square, his garden extending down to the East River. He was engaged in the shipping business with William Alexander, afterward known as Lord Sterling, the American General whose sister Mary he had married in 1739. At the outbreak of the Revolution he opposed British aggression, was a member of the N. Y. Committee of One Hundred in 1775, and in the same year became President of the first New York Provincial Congress. He was Treasurer of New York 1776-1778, and throughout the struggle for independence was an ardent and faithful patriot.

pendage not likely to be added unless as a part of the original building. Furthermore, on a map made by George Dember, an engineer in the British service in 1761, the whole course of the river is represented, showing the upper and lower landings and the portage road correctly traced, and the house referred to placed as nearly as possible in its true position where the old stone chimney now stands."

This map, which is given in the *Documentary History of New York*, Vol. II, p. 458, marks the location of "Duncan's House," and if Mr. Porter's surmise is correct the old stone chimney of the French barracks built in 1750 and burnt by Chabert Joncaire in 1759, was utilized as a part of the smaller two-story structure that connected directly with the main building.

It is difficult to understand how James Sterling or his principals could have obtained possession of the old chapel for their uses from the commandant at Fort Niagara with whom they were distinctly in disfavor. Sir William Johnson speaks of Sterling's house as being "within quarter of a mile" of Little Niagara "where Shabear Jean Coeur lived," indicating a somewhat more distant location than that of the old chimney of the French barracks, which was but a few rods removed from the site of the French fort.

It soon became evident that Rutherford, Duncan & Co. had stirred up a hornets' nest among their keen competitors for the Indian trade by their well devised plans for establishing a trading post and settlement on the "carrying place."

Albany was the eastern headquarters for supplying the Indian trade and there were abundant and fierce heart-burnings there when those worthy descendants of Dutch sires, with their well-rounded and resonant names, discovered the march that had been stolen upon them by their enterprising and influential competitors from Schenectady and New York. They suddenly became anti-monopolists to a man, and on the 28th of January, 1762, an "Humble Petition of the principle Merchants living in the City of Albany," with twenty-seven signatures, was sent to the Lords of Trade, reciting the terms of the treaty of 1726 with the Five Nations and its

concessions, and adding thereto: "Your Lordships Petitioners further beg leave to show that His Excellency Sir Jeffrey Amherst since the conquest of Niagara being unacquainted (as they presume) with the aforesaid Deed and the matters therein contained has lycensed and authorized Capt. Rutherford, Lieut. Duncan and others to settle at the Niagara carrying place and given them Ten Thousand Acres of Land there, all which is included in the said Indian Deed, in pursuance of which permission or Grant they have already settled thereon and we are well assured that strong application has been made to His Majesty to have the above Lycense confirmed by the Royal approbation. Permit your Petitioners further to observe that should a Confirmation be obtained the Proprietors of the aforesaid lands would in a little time monopolize all the Indian Trade in their own hands and by that means amass to themselves great sums of money without any Benefit to the Publick and reduce thousands of His Majesty's American Subjects to want who might otherwise be supported thereby. The granting those lands to a particular company would be big with many mischiefs and among others irritate the Indians, when they discover that settlements are made on those lands contrary to a Solemn Agreement and that Free Trade is suppressed among them and how much it is to the interest of this Province to keep the Indians at peace with us is obvious to every Impartial Eye."*

A letter from Rd. Thacksburgh to Sir William Johnson dated New York, 12th April, 1762, says: "The Proclamation† (of which I understand you have an authentick Copy) warning all People off the Lands surreptitiously obtained from the Inds, has alarmed many People; Capt. R——d [Rutherford] says the Government at home will soon alter it being agst the interest of the Province. I believe he imagines it was made in consequence of the Carrying Place being taken possession of at Niagara, but I am apt to think that it is not only for that but also the Remonstrance of the Inds of ye 2 Castles of the Mohawks."‡

*Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. VII., p. 488.

†For this proclamation see Docs. Col. History N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 478.

‡ Unpublished MSS. of Sir Wm. Johnson in State Library, Vol. V., p. 245.

It would appear from their correspondence with Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden that the "Right Honble The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations" had been much disturbed about this time by numerous complaints of unauthorized encroachments upon Indian lands. The worthy Governor wrote that after the surrender of Canada some of the provincial officers had received licenses to purchase lands on the frontiers, while some had been denied, mentioning the interesting fact that Sir William Johnson himself had asked letters patent for 40,000 acres of land "given him by the Mohawks," a request which the Council had refused.*

The formidable petition from the Albany merchants, supported by the Indian Superintendent's influence, accomplished its purpose. On the 3rd of June, 1762, the Lords of Trade laid the petition before the King, reporting "That we have not received from any Officer of your Majesty in America or any other person whatever any information respecting such grant or settlement as the petitioners allege to have been made; and we the rather incline to hope that the Petitioners have proceeded upon misinformation and mistake, as we do not know of any authority being given to Sir Jeffrey Amherst to grant lands in those parts. If, however, it shall appear upon enquiry that such grant and settlement have actually been made, we cannot but agree with the Petitioners that it will be productive of many mischievous and dangerous consequences, and therefore we think it our duty humbly to offer our opinion that for the several reasons set forth in our humble representation to your Majesty of the 11th of November last, your royal orders should be immediately dispatched, requiring the said settlers forthwith to quit and remove from the said Lands."†

The Royal order was duly issued and transmitted to Sir Jeffrey Amherst at New York, who acknowledged it in a letter to W. Sharpe, Clerk of his Majesty's Privy Council, dated 20th October, 1762. "His Majesty's Order in Council bearing date the 19th June, 1762, with the papers thereunto

*Docts. Col. History N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 492.

†Docts. Col. History N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 502.

annexed relative to the granting a Settlement to Captain Rutherford, Lieut. Duncan and others, on the carrying place at Niagara, did not come to my hands 'till within these four days. . . . In the Month of April, 1761, I received a Memorial from Captain Rutherford, Lieut. Duncan and others; requesting me to make application that they might have a grant of land, on the carrying place at Niagara, and setting forth, that great advantage must accrue to the Trade in general by settling these lands; in the meantime, they begged to have leave to send up some families, cattle, etc. I was so thoroughly convinced of the utility of such a proposal that I readily granted them a Permit, until the King's pleasure was known, but without the least clause that could entitle them to an exclusive right of trade: as the Trade to the Detroit and throughout every part of His Majesty's Dominions on this Continent has been entirely free, ever since the reduction of Canada. I was so far from thinking that I had a right to grant these lands, that I immediately reported what I had done to His Majesty's Secretary of State; an Extract of my letter on that Subject is enclosed (No. 1) and Copies of the Memorial and permit therein referred to (No. 2 and 3), but as I received no Answer, the Memorialists have only made a small temporary settlement, as I constantly assured them, that I could give no further title, until the King's pleasure was signified concerning their Rights: I have now in obedience to His Majesty's commands, sent orders to the Commandant at Niagara to put a stop to any settlements on the carrying place, and I enclose a copy of these Orders (No. 4) which I humbly trust will meet with His Majesty's Approbation. If I may take the liberty, I can't but say, I am still of the same opinion, respecting the utility and advantage, that will arise to the Country by settling the lands in Question, and I beg leave, with the utmost deference and submission to the most Honble Board to represent that, nothing can be more conducive to the security of the distant posts, the advantage of the traders in general (while every one that adheres to the rules prescribed are free to trade with the Indians) and of those whose affairs require them to pass and repass, than

the peopling of the Tracts of Land, situated near our Forts and particularly such a spot as that of the carrying place at Niagara."*

Thus ended the first attempt under British rule to plant a settlement on the Niagara portage. James Sterling went up to Detroit where the trading firm of which he was a member was known as Livingston, Rutherford & Syme, and became one of the leading merchants of the Northwest, respected and trusted by the British and, through his familiarity with their language, a favorite with the French habitants. He took an active part in the defense of Detroit during the famous siege by Pontiac and when it happily ended married pretty Angelique Cuillierie, whose charms had captivated Sir William at his visit in 1761. Her father had been a prominent French trader and also an ally of Pontiac, and a flavor of romance attaches to Sterling and his courtship, for recent investigations give color to the belief that it was through information which she obtained of Pontiac's intentions and which, through her anxiety for her lover's safety, the pretty Angelique secretly communicated to Sterling, that the little garrison was forewarned of Pontiac's treachery and so saved from destruction.†

He had been compelled to leave some of the company's goods at Niagara and after Pontiac's siege was raised he returned for these; the interests of Livingston and Rutherford were purchased by the other partners and the firm at Detroit became Duncan & Sterling.

In 1763 John Stedman occupied the house described by Albert H. Porter on the site of the old French barracks at Little Niagara, cleared the adjacent land and planted an orchard, becoming master of the portage from Lewiston, and holding, it was claimed, the exclusive right of transportation under some form of lease from the British Government, which gave him right of occupancy in all the improved land about Fort Schlosser and in adjoining unimproved lands for the support of his cattle and horses.‡

*Docts. Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. VII., p. 508.

†See letter Maj. Henry Bassett to Gen. Haldimand, Can. Archives, B. 70, p. 214.

‡Hist. Sketch of Niagara, 1678-1876, by Albert H. Porter, p. 27.

The original and larger scheme for a settlement on the carrying place had failed. By 1764 Sir Wm. Johnson's Indians had become more docile. The massacre at the Devil's Hole in September, 1763, when Stedman barely escaped with his life, was their last fierce protest against the white man's encroachments; Stedman remained thereafter unmolested, the traders found him useful and as he was not their competitor no more petitions were sent to the Lords of Trade, but it was a long day before the Niagara portage was finally opened up for settlement.

III. A BRITISH PRIVATEER

IN THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.*

"I'm informed that you have had such Success with your Privateer that the Men of War are got jealous of her taking too many Prizes and have endeavored to sink her, *c'est bien malhonête!*" And so beyond question, thought that honest Scotch merchant and ardent loyalist, John Porteous,† of

*This paper, originally contributed to the *American Historical Review*, January, 1902, is here reprinted by courtesy of the Macmillan Company, publishers, and Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, managing editor of that periodical. Its inclusion here with other of Mr. Howland's papers is specially desirable, as it is an episode in the career of John Porteous, who figures in certain affairs of the Niagara Frontier, as Mr. Howland relates.

†John Porteous came from Perth, Scotland, to America about the year 1761, and was one of the early British traders at Detroit and Michillimackinac. He was a resident of Detroit during its siege by Pontiac and for ten years thereafter. During this time he was engaged in the Indian trade as a partner with James Sterling in the firm of Duncan, Sterling & Porteous, and later formed a partnership with the firm of Phyn & Ellice, of Schenectady, N. Y. Before the opening of the Revolutionary War he went to Montreal, and after the British occupied New York City, he followed them there and carried on a general merchandizing business until the evacuation in 1783, when he returned to Scotland. Soon thereafter he settled in Nova Scotia, but in 1788 or 1789 went to Little Falls, N. Y., where he represented the interests of Alexander Ellice, who had succeeded to the lands covered by the Vaughn patent. He was naturalized in 1790, and lived at Little Falls until his death in March, 1799.

In January, 1901, the attention of the writer was called to an old hair-covered chest that had been for some years in the possession of Mr. Andrew Langdon of Buffalo, which was found to contain papers relating for the most part to business transactions in the Mohawk Valley during the early years of the nineteenth century. With these were found several bundles of older records concerning John Porteous, among which were the letters and documents which form the basis of the present article.

New York, in September, 1779, when he read the Montreal letter, written by his old-time friend, James Sterling, from which the sentence is quoted. Their friendship was of long standing, dating back to the fur-trading days that followed the close of the French War, when they had been partners at Detroit in the Indian trade and in many adventures on those distant trails that brought wealth from the great northern wilderness. Soon after the British army had occupied New York in 1776, John Porteous had followed it thither and had established himself in general merchandizing, occupying the store belonging to Henry Remsen, at No. 513 Hanover Square, "next door to the Admiral's." He enjoyed a good credit with his London connections; his brother, James Porteous, was an Assistant Commissary General in the British service, and the shrewd and thrifty Scotchman seems to have prospered in his undertakings. He preserved most of his papers with methodical care, and after his death, by some fortunate accident they escaped destruction, until, covered with a century's dust, they were recently brought to light from the old chest where they had so long lain hidden. There are many curious stories which these time-stained records tell, and among them is the story of the British Privateer Vengeance, as told by those who shared her varied fortunes.

When Cornwallis entered Philadelphia in September, 1777, the opportunity seemed favorable for the British traders, and shortly thereafter John Porteous sent a stock of goods to that city entrusted to his friend and associate, John Richardson, who took a shop in Market Street, where he had important dealings with Sir William Howe and many beside. The firm of John Porteous & Co. apparently owned at this time a snow called the *Elegante*, of which Captain George Dean was the master, in which their shipments back and forth were made. Possibly our worthy Scotchman's close proximity to the "Admiral" may have turned his thoughts to other naval ventures than these peaceful sailings of the seas; perhaps he was like Dogberry, "a fellow that hath had losses," for once again from London, James Sterling wrote: "Pray how do you succeed in Privateering? I hope you've

caught some of the Myneers* who will help to reimburse your former Losses." Perhaps privateering may have seemed as profitable at that time as it was popular, for in the year 1778 it was evidently determined to convert the peaceful *Elegante* into a more war-like craft, rechristened the *Vengeance*, which, on the 17th of November, for a consideration of £37 6s. 8d. was duly commissioned as a privateer under the seal of the court of vice-admiralty for the province of New York, "to attack, Surprise, Seize and take all Ships and Vessels, Goods, Wares and Merchandizes, Chattels and Effects whatsoever belonging to the Inhabitants of the American Colonies in Rebellion."

A "snow" was a three-masted vessel, having abaft the main mast, a third mast which carried a trysail. The *Vengeance* was a vessel of this class and was no beauty despite her original name; for one witness said she looked "like a Hog Trough," and another is equally disrespectful concerning her appearance, but, as the record shows, her good qualities far out-balanced this lack of grace. She was well armed, carrying six six-pound guns and eight four-pounders, with an abundance of small arms and ammunition, and, as appears from the details of her equipment, was amply supplied with provisions and with rum. The surgeon's instruments cost £18 16s. and her stock of medicines £76 4s. 6d. There had been added by purchase a new long boat which had cost £37 6s. 8d.; a pinnace costing £25, and at the hour of sailing, a very fine small boat which Captain Dean said he "could not possibly do without" for which John Porteous paid a round twenty guineas. Altogether, the vessel and her outfit when ready for sea represented an outlay to her owners of £4851 10s. 8d., York currency, equivalent at the time to about £3300 sterling. Of officers and crew there were sixty-nine on board when she sailed, with George Dean, Captain; George Knowles, 1st Lieut.; Charles Knowles, 2nd Lieut.; Thomas Middleton, master; John Fitzgerald, surgeon; John Fraser, gunner; and Patrick Henvey, boatswain, and including also John Richardson.

*Myneers, evidently referring to Dutch merchantmen. The letter is dated 1781.

who, like Captain Dean, was a shareholder and who went ostensibly to guard the owners' interests, but evidently moved by a fine spirit of adventure and bearing rank as captain of marines. To his facile pen and to that of the pugnacious captain, we are indebted for the most graphic account that has been preserved of the experiences of a British privateer during the war of the American Revolution.

By the 9th of January, 1779, all was ready, so that the *Vengeance* dropped down the bay, and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day John Richardson found an opportunity of sending a farewell message from Sandy Hook.—"Yesterday afternoon it blowing fresh and the wind contrary we came to an Anchor off the Watering Place at Staten Island; and about 12 O'Clock today got under weigh;—we shall be abreast of the *Man of War* very soon and Capt: Dean is determined to proceed immediately to Sea on passing inspection." He concludes by "ardently hoping for a successful Cruize," and is not again heard from until the 15th of February when the *Vengeance* is in the latitude of Port Royal. At least one letter had been dispatched in the interim by the first prize captured, but as there is no trace of its receipt, and as the *Little Ben* never found a place on the credit side of the *Vengeance's* account, it is probable that the prize was re-captured before reaching New York. Captain Dean now writes:

VENGEANCE Lat: 32°.15' N. 15th Feby. 1779

DEAR SIR: My last was dated the 5th Current pr the Prize Schooner *Little Ben* from Cape Fear bound to Boston John Anderson Prize Master, who I hope before this reaches you will have arrived safe. She was loaded with Tar Turpentine and Rice, is quite full and about 80 Tons burthen. On the 14th January 3 Sail of Vessels were Captured by the Privateers Experiment, Capt. McPherson, and Genl. Mathew, Capt. Forsyth, in sight of us and within hearing of the Guns; which you'll please lay in a claim for a Proportion of according to Men and Guns. One was a dismasted ship from Cape François bound to Charlestown, loaded with Rum etc., another a Brig, and the third a

Schooner which we chased in to them. All were taken off the Capes of Virginia, and it was my intention to put some People on board them which being signified to Capt: Forsyth he even assented to coming too or laying by till morning when we would see each other again, but it growing hazy in the night, they gave us the Slip, next day we saw them again and fired several shot at the Sloop Genl. Mathew to bring her too, but without effect, however I am in hopes this ungenerous method of procedure will avail them little. On the 8th Curt. Captured the Ship Geo: Washington mounting 10 double fortified 4 pounders from Boston in Balast bound to Charlestown which I have ordered for Savannah in Georgia (it being in our possession) consigned to Mr. John Tunno, who is connected with Mr. Penman at St. Augustine, as Agent; She is 440 Tons burthen Frigate built and a beautiful Vessel. I remain with respect,

Your sincere friend and hble Servt.

GEORGE DEAN

Accompanying this was a letter from John Richardson.

VENGEANCE Lat: $32^{\circ} 15'$ N. 15th Feby. 1779.

DEAR SIR: I wrote you the 5th Current a few Lines. This will be delivered you by a Mr. J. [I?] Mitchell of Boston, who was a Passenger on board the Geo. Washington; is a Portrait Painter and was intending by some means or other to get to England. Being a facetious young Fellow, and in all appearance a friend to Govt. Capt. Dean and all the officers on board the Vengeance have shown him every indulgence and civility, and make no doubt you will do the like. We at first took the Washington for a 40 Gun Ship she loomed so large, but upon getting a little nearer, saw she was a large Merchantman, which we were in hopes was French. She showed 14 Guns, besides 2 on her Quarter Deck. We were determ'd. to have a look at her, and accordingly stood tow'ds. her under French Colours; she at same time bearing down on us under Rebel Colours; She by Accident made part of our Signal, which inducing us to believe she was the Union of Liverpool, we hoisted English; this caused her immediately to haul her Wind from us; and

convinced us she was an enemy; it falling calm, we happily thought of trying what effect our Boats Oars would have in rowing the Snow. Our people being in high spirits pulled like heroes; We gained on her considerably, and she kept pelting us with Stern Chacer which happily did little damage altho' almost every shot took place in our Sails. We fired only three Shot at her, and rowed up under her stern, fired our Stink Pot and prepared for boarding; but before we came within hail she struck. Upon getg. nearer hailed her, and finding her from Boston gave three Cheers, which to our no small surprize was returned by a number on board the Ship. We found she was manned mostly with Scotchmen, whom the Captain had got out of Prison Ships. They rejoiced in their releasement; and with some others to the Number of 21 entered with us. On the afternoon of the 9th Curt. saw 2 Sail which gave chace to. Soon percd. one to be a large Ship standg. for us. Apprehending her to be the Deane Frigate who came out of Boston with our Prize, kept close by the wind; but about 7 in the evening it being then dark found she was close under our Lee crossing us with her Larboard Tacks on board—we having our Starboard. She gave us a Gun: We returned her a 6 pounder shotted, yet I believe hit her—which was no sooner done than she gave us, and our Prize who was close under our Stern a Broadside and a Volley from her Tops and Quarter Deck, Luckily they did very little damage except to our Sails; but findg. them 9 pounders, were now convinced she was the Rebel frigate mentioned above; so Capt. Dean and Officers, judged it most prudent to stand on. She immediately Tacked in our wake and stood after us. About 10 at night it falling light winds perceived she gained upon us; so finding it in vain to get clear, hauled up our Courses and prepared for Action along with our Prize; who was at this time commanded by Geo: Knowles, who I forgot to mention returned the Frigates broadside. She came up within Hail with all Sails standing, when we found it was his Majesty's Ship Unicorn, who behaved in a very civil manner. We were then off Cape Roman. Messrs. Knowles join in best re-

spects to you and Brother and I remain with unfeigned regard

Your sincere friend and humble Servant

JOHN RICHARDSON.

P. S. We spoke Capt. McAlpin in a Schooner from New York who informed us you was well. Mr. Andrews is gone Prize Master of the Ship who sails almost as well as we. Convoyed her almost to Georgia.

By an endorsement in his autograph, it appears that these letters were opened at New York by Commodore (afterward Admiral) Sir Hyde Parker, before being delivered to John Porteous to whom they were addressed. In December, 1778, Hyde Parker had commanded the small squadron which conveyed the British troops under Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell to the capture of Savannah, a service for which Parker was knighted in 1779. This important southern port now being in possession of the British, and the province declared to be "in the King's peace," Captain Dean thought it best to touch at Savannah for supplies and to see what had become of his fine prize ship, so about the 5th of March the Vengeance dropped anchor in the Savannah river and ten days later letters to New York told of the condition of her affairs which were not wholly to the Captain's liking.

SAVANNAH RIVER IN GEORGIA }
ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE } 15th March 1779.

DEAR SIR: Finding our Stock of Wood and Water to be getting rather short I determined to put into this place to get a recruit of these articles: It was likewise some inducement to me to learn the fate of the Ship Geo. Washington (which we took on the 8th Feby. bound from Boston to Charlestown in Balast) who by a Vessel we spoke with at Sea we were informed that she was claimed as British Property. Mr. Tunno who I appointed Agent, and I dare say you remember to have seen at New York, as he lodged at Mr. Stoughton's dispatched her Papers to St. Augustine without delay, no Court of Admiralty being established here till within these few days: No answer is yet arrived but I

am in hopes the claim will not be sustained, as the Claimant is a man of no character, and I have reason to believe was in a great measure induced to it by the Prize Master, Charles Andrews, who has proved a most cunning artful villain, and has done I find everything in his power to stir up sedition among the Ships Company—who were however proof against it and are a set of as fine peaceable fellows as ever manned a Ship. If I can find any Point Blank proof against him of making away with anything out of the Ship I will trounce him soundly for it—at any rate he and I shall never float at sea again in the same bottom. I shall order Mr. Tunno to remit you whatever may be the Nett Proceeds of the Ship, after deducting disbursements here, without delay, when she is sold. I had once determined on going as far as £3000 Sterling for her on our own account, as she sails very fast and would carry 24 Guns, six pounders with ease, but upon more mature deliberation have given up thoughts of that as the Expence of sending her round, and fitting would be so immense, that I am determined to stick by the Old Vengeance, who without jesting I would not exchange, for our business, with any Privateer belonging to New York: I find her to be possessed of every qualification necessary for a Privateer—Sails fast, carries her Guns well, makes no more water in a Gale of Wind than in a Calm: and in appearance at best but a Bundle of Boards. I am anxious to hear of the arrival at your Place of the Schooner Little Ben from Cape Fear bound to Boston, which we took on the 4th February, and of the Snow Invermay from Cape François, bound to Charlestown, Captured the 19th do.; the first loaded with Tar, Turpentine and Rice, the latter with Rum, Sugar, Coffee and Dry Goods. There were a few trifling articles taken out of the Snow besides what I mentioned, which in the hurry we were in I forgot, viz the Jesuits Bark—pieces. Linen, I made a present of to the Master. No bread being to be had here, I have purchased as a substitute 15 Tierces Rice at 7/6 Stg. pr. C. and some sweet Potatoes. I shall buy only about 10 Barrels Salt Provision, which can be had for about 6 Guineas pr Bbl: but as it is far cheaper and better for the people as many Hogs

(which can be got about 3d stg. pr lb.) as I can conveniently carry on Deck out of the way of the Guns. I am afraid I shall be obliged to get a puncheon of Rum altho' dear; there is no doing without it in our way. We were once entirely out for eight days, but to do our People justice I never heard the least murmur on that account as they knew it could not be had.

One circumstance happened to us in the Beginning of the Cruize, which I cannot omit mentioning every opportunity altho' I can hardly do it with patience. If ever any one serves me such a Trick again, I will forgive him and never mention a word about it. On the 14th January a dismasted Ship from Cape Francois, bound to Charlestown, loaded with Taffia, etc., a Brig with her Main Topmast gone, and a Schooner, were captured off the Capes of Virginia by the Experiment Capt. McPherson and Genl. Mathew, Capt. Forsyth, both of New York, in sight of us and within hearing of their Guns. I spoke them and intended putting Prize Masters on board in the morning, which I even signified to Capt. Forsyth who appeared to have no objection, and agreed to lay by till morning—however it getting hazy in the night they gave us the Slip. Next day I saw them again and fired several shots to bring them to; upon which they put away before the wind. I hauled our wind for the Prizes, and put about when I thought we had got so far as to be able to fetch them on the other Tack, however we saw nothing more of them. I am hopeful some of my Letters may have reached you to enable you to lay in a claim for a share of said Prizes according to Men and Guns. I have cut out 2 more Ports, and got two four Pounders out of the Ship, and we now mount 6 six pounders and 10 four pounders. When we go out we shall have 70 Men, all fine fellows; almost 50 of whom are Seamen, and we shall not carry a man out here but what belonged to us when we came in; so that you see we have been very lucky in the Vessels we have taken to get so many seamen. I remain with great regard

Dear John

Yours sincerely

GEORGE DEAN.

There were uncertainties even in British privateering. The *Vengeance* might capture cargoes of rum and peaceful tar-laden merchantmen, but there were many things to be reckoned with before they could be taken into port, condemned and sold and their proceeds comfortably divided. There were well-armed Yankee ships with names fully as fierce as her own, whose captains would have delighted in a brush with the *Vengeance* herself, and who, failing this, found a peculiar pleasure in recapturing her prizes, which doubtless furnishes the providential reason why the *Invermay* as well as the *Little Ben* never figured further in the privateer's accounts. Then, too, there were such rascally schemes as that of the *George Washington's* prize master which stirred up Captain Dean's righteous indignation, as well it might, for although full details of procedures are not found, all that was ever credited to the account of the *Vengeance* in realization of her hopes from her splendid 440 ton prize for which Captain Dean would have paid £3000 sterling, was a beggarly item of "£374 10s. 6d." "for share of the *George Washington* salvage." However, all were now greatly elated with their early successes and their first lieutenant, George Knowles, who had been a merchant captain, wrote to John Porteous in exuberant phonetics.

"You will No Doubt hear mor larg from Capt. Dean of our Sucess and the *Plisur the Snow* gives ous in hir saling and Every thing that wie cann wish wie have goot a Compleat Sette of gunes as aney Ship out of New York sixtin sixes and four Pounders and I hoap tor to have thre or four prises in to you in the Spece of thre or four weakes after our puting from thence. Wie have a Compleat Shipes Companey as Ever I sailed with 70 in number."

At the same time John Richardson also wrote to Mr. Porteous:

SAVANNAH RIVER IN GEORGIA }
ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE } 15th March 1779

DEAR SIR: We have been here now about 10 days, getting a fresh supply of Wood and Water, and some pro-

visions, which are tolerably reasonable. I am hopeful the next prize we send you may be a good St. Domingo Man: Let us only see a Vessel and we are not afraid but we will soon come up with her, provided night does not prevent us. We sail exceedingly fast (having beat everything we have yet seen but the Unicorn) and are the greatest deception imaginable, looking at a distance like a Hog Trough; this no doubt will be a great advantage to us. The Master of the Snow we took told us, that even after he was in the Boat coming on board us, he secretly repented not having run longer; as he could hardly satisfy himself that we could sail *tolerably*, notwithstanding we had come up with him so fast that he did not know how to behave. M. Watson from New York informed us that it was currently reported there, our being cast away. I feel exceedingly for the distress and anxiety of mind you must have laboured under till the doubts respecting our safety were removed. There were people in New York, viz McPherson and Forsyth, who could have satisfied you on this head, but knowing themselves guilty of wronging us in a very ungenerous manner, I suppose they determined to keep their own counsel, for fear enquirys might be made, that would put it out of their power to conceal any longer, our being in company, when the prizes were taken; and of consequence fully entitled to a share. I have sent you all the news Papers since the arrival of our Troops here, so that it is unnecessary to mention any news. The Phoenix Man of War sailed for England the 12th Curt. Col: Campbell went Passenger in her, and I suppose there never was a Commander whose departure was more regretted, he being universally beloved by all orders of People. Capt. Dean and I being in Town when the Molly Capt. Thompson sailed for New York prevented our writing by her, as likewise to London by the Phoenix, not expectg. they would sail so soon.

This is the best Bar Harbour in America, having over it at Low Water at least 3 fathoms. The Bar lies near 3 miles without the Light House or rather Beacon, which is built of Brick and Whitewashed; It consists of seven Stories, and stands upon the North Eastermost Point of Tybee, a

low swampy Island, uninhabited, and aboundg. with fine Pine and Live Oak Trees; Here we get whatever Spars we want (upon asking liberty) for the trouble of cutting them. About 3 miles up from the Light House is Cockspur Island which divides the River into 2 channels, the northernmost of which is the Ship Channel but between the Southside of the Island and Tybee is the best Anchorage. From Cockspur to within 5 miles of Savannah Town runs a range of swampy desert Islands, dividing the Channels as I mentd. before. The Banks of the River on both sides untill you come near to the Town (which is about 20 miles from Tybee Beacon) is a swamp. Here you can see multitudes of alligators lying in the mud like old Logs, and the Rivers in general here so abound with these destructive animals that it is very dangerous to go in to the Water. The Town stands upon a steep sandy Bank, which will put a man out of breath before he can reach the Top of it. It consists of about 300 houses, built for the most part of Wood. It is very regularly laid out, the Streets crossing each other at right angles, but like most other Towns in this Country very straggling built. The Streets are not paved; the Sand in them is near a foot deep, and in the summer, what between Sand Flies (of which even now there are Legions) Musketoes etc *must certainly be a most agreeable place* to reside in. When it blows, a man runs no small risk of being chocked by the clouds of sand and dust. I am told that about 50 miles back, the Country exhibits a very different appearance, being very fruitful in Indigo, Rice, Indian Corn etc., and abounds with stock of all kinds; The sallow complexion of the Natives here, to me sufficiently proves the unhealthiness of the Climate. Mr. Michie desires his Compliments to you, he is in company with Mr. Brown, and they seem to have a great run. There is a pretty good demand for Goods here. Mr. McCulloch is appointed Collector of the Customs. Col: Innes is gone home. Mr. Penman* from St. Augustine is here. Of Privateers there

*James Penman, a British loyalist, who was engaged in business at St. Augustine, Fla., until the capture of Savannah, Ga., in 1779, where he accompanied the British General, Augustine Prevost, from Florida. After the capture of Savannah in 1779 and in the effort to re-establish the royal government there he was appointed a member of the council and a commissioner of claims under the Crown.

are at present here, the Mars Capt. Cunningham, Union Capt. Sibrell, and Surprize Capt. Watson, all of New York. Capt. Henry of the Fowey is now Commodore. I beg to be remembered to your Brother, Mr. Cruden; Mr. and Mrs. Groome. I remain with the greatest regard

Dr. Sir

Yours very sincerely

JOHN RICHARDSON.

During the month that followed these despatches, the Vengeance found business very dull. The rich St. Domingo merchantman wisely kept out of her way; she caught a glimpse of the Jamaica fleet sailing down the Georgia coast and somewhere thereabouts captured a "light brig," only to lose it again. Letters were sent by a St. Augustine sloop, but it would seem that they never reached New York and the next despatches received by the owners were written May 7th, somewhere off Albemarle Sound.

ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE Lat 36° North

DR. SIR: On the 2d. Curt. we in Company with the Privateer Sloop Who would have thought it, Capt. Lancefield belonging to Mr. Courtney, took the Schooner Fannie, John Sawyer Master from St. Croix bound to Edenton, mounting 4 Carriage Guns and 3 Swivels, loaded with 78 Puncheons Rum and 1 Hhd. Sugar. There is likewise on board some small Casks Rum and Pieces of Dry Goods as annexed. I intended keeping her with me for some Days to Cruize as she would have answered every purpose of a Tender and for that Purpose put 6 of our best people on Board including the 1st. Lieut. and the Sloop put the same number of his: but not obeying my signal for Tacking the ensuing night (whether from intention or neglect I know not) we lost Company of her, and heard nothing of her since. This has distressed me exceedingly to loose so many good men in so small a vessel and as I was in Chase all the afternoon had not time to make out Mr. Knowles's Orders, or send a Copy of our Commission, but Verbally desired him to keep by us. However I am hopeful she may arrive safe at New York as I have no doubt they will push directly for

thence. On the 4th Curt. I sent about 30 Volunteers on board the said Sloop and in our Pinnace, who went into Ocracock Harbour, boarded and took the French Polacco Ship Le Hardy Claude Berard Mr of 12 Carriage Guns, 4 Swivels and 26 Men, after a very obstinate resistance. We did not loose a Man, having only one a good deal Burnt by a Powder Flash, and the Sloop one of her people badly wounded in the head. The French Captn. and 3 of his People are dangerously wounded. She has on board 250 Hhds of Tobacco which I am hopeful will sell well being of the first Quality. The Ship is excellently found and sails very fast. There is a fine parcel of Bread aboard which should be glad you would purchase for our next Cruize. We shall come in for a great part of both Vessels as we had 63 Men on Board and 17 Carriage Guns, and the Sloop 6 Guns and about 26 men. Had the Schooner remained with me I should have been able to have cut out likewise a large Lumber loaded Ship which lay about 3 miles further up, who got under Sail and went still farther as soon as they saw our Intention against the Polacco. Our Water and Provisions begin to grow low, so that I shall not be able to cruize much longer. I am sorry to hear the light Brig we took and sent for Georgia, was retaken by the Brig Notre Dame of 16 Guns belonging to Charlestown, off Savannah Bar. I was so sure of her arriving safe that I would have insured her for sixpence. Should I catch any more of the Boston Victuallers (as we call them) I shall not hesitate about burning them, as I cannot find they ever carry anything but a few *notions*. There is nothing I regret so much as not leaving orders with you to Commission for a good night Glass; it would have been of infinite service to me, however it may not yet be too late, therefore beg you will do it. Should the Schooner arrive, I request you will defer selling her till we arrive as I have a great opinion of her, and if the cruize can afford it, would like to purchase her for a Tender, finding that a small one would be of vast service. I am with respect, Dr. Sir

Your very humble Servant

GEORGE DEAN.

Mr. John Porteous.

P. S. Mr. Middleton the Master is sent as Prize Master of the Polacco who was altered from a Snow into a Ship lately at Edenton.

In the cabin of the Schooner

2 Ps. Coating

2 Ps. Broad Cloth with Shalloon and other Trimmings

In the hold about 400lb Coffee

ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE Lat 36° N
7th May 1779

DR. SIR: I wrote you the 22d ultimo pr the Hunter Sloop Capt. Browne from St. Augustine and mentioned having seen the Jamaica fleet on the 16th April in and about Lat: 31-30 and Lon: 70° West. On the 26th April in the morning off Cape Look Out we gave Chace to a Sail which we soon discovered to be a brig standing towards us, but before we could see her hull she Tacked and stood from us with all Sail; we continued the Chace and falling almost calm we got out our Sweeps, and about 1 P M our Pinnace armed and manned as usual was dispatched after her; We came up very fast, but most unluckily about 2 a very heavy squall with Rain from the N W came on, in which the Snow loosing sight both of us and the Brig was obliged to heave too for fear of loosing us. We returned to the Snow, and the Boat was immediately hoisted in. About 5 in the evening We again discovered the Brig who had wore (when out of our sight) towards the Shore, and went close under the Shoals, by which means she had got about 2 Leagues to Windward. We continued the Pursuit and about night it falling calm; our Pinnace was hoisted out again and sent after her; We rowed directly towards her for 2½ hours when seeing no appearance of a sail, Mr. Knowles and I judged it prudent to return. Got on board the Vessel about 1 next morning; it still continuing almost calm set out again and at Sun Rise discovered her at an Anchor under the Fort at Cape Lookout we returned the third time when a light breeze springing up the Snow wrought in Shore towards an Inlet (about 12 miles from the Cape) where we saw a number of Vessels laying. We hoisted French colours and made

a signal for a Pilot. A Boat came out and reconnoitred us but no scheme could bring her along side. Captain Dean now was determined to have a Dust with the Brig, which we saw was a Rebel Privr. from 12 to 16 Guns, and accordingly stood within Gun Shot of the Fort who fired a Shot at us, which we returned, but most unluckily the Wind shifting to the Southward; we were obliged to turn out being in such a Bight, that we could not weather the Land on one Hand nor the Shoals on another. Although blowing fresh in the night; by next morning got so far to Windward as to be out of danger. We then fell in with our present consort; and determined on attempting to have the Brig at all events as she had cost us so much trouble. But on the 29th a heavy Gale driving us into the Gulf Stream, we never could fetch to Windward of the Shoals again; therefore Capt. Dean bent his Attention towards Ocracock—where on the 4th Curt. we cut out the Polacco Ship *Le Hardy*: Mr. Middleton the Master, and I with 16 hands went Volunteers in the Sloop: and Chas. Knowles, Gunner, and Boatswain with 9 more of our People in the Boat. The Ship having a suspicion of us had got chace Ports cut out the night before and every preparation made. We went up under her stern when he began a heavy fire on us with his Stern Chacer; and by backing his Mizen Topsail endeavored to bring his broadside to bear on us, but being unable to effect this he renewed the fire with his chacer; Havg. by this time got pretty near, we soon drove them from those Guns by our Musketry and a 3 Pdr. which raked him. Passing under his Starboard Quarter we laid him aboard directly and the Boat on the other; at which instant he discharged his Broadside a volley of small arms and some Powder Flasks at the Sloop. Most miraculously and providentially they did us no damage to speak of and before they could load again so many from both Sloop and Boat got on board, that little opposition was then made but by the French Capt., who behaved in a most resolute manner. Notwithstanding the extreme difficulty of the Bar (being only about 13 feet Water on it) we got her safe out about dark. The Channel lies so close to the Beach that the Pilots lying behind the

Sand Banks peppered away at us with small arms, but did no hurt. You must look upon it as very unaccountable and indeed what I could hardly have believed had I not been an eye Witness that only one Man should be wounded and another a good deal burnt with a Powder Flask on our side. The French Capt. and 3 of his People are badly wounded, and several more slightly. If our Prize Schooner had been with us, to have gone in with the Sloop we should have effected something more capital. We cannot cruize above a fortnight longer as our Provs. and Water get low, and our Bottom is remarkably foul. Present my Copts. to your Brother—as likewise Dond. McLean, A. Stephen—and acquaintances at your Mess Expecting to enjoy the pleasure of seeing you soon, I am

Dr. Sir

Yours very sincerely

JOHN RICHARDSON.

Enclosed with these letters is a list of the French prisoners captured, and also lists of the officers and men belonging to the Vengeance that were on board the pinnace and the sloop during the action.

This was a fine stroke of luck for the British privateer, inasmuch as both the polacca *Le Hardy* and the schooner *Fannie* escaped re-capture, and, having been condemned and sold at New York, the *Vengeance* was credited with £4,603 3s. 10d. as her share of the proceeds. But, alas for the mutability of fortune! Just as this audacious rover of the seas was turning homeward for renewed supplies and a fresh start in further buccaneering, she encountered disaster as unexpected and startling as lightning would have been coming from a clear sky. She was on the lookout for her enemies, and with a fighting captain and willing crew, or with swift heels, as circumstances might require, felt reasonably secure; but if her captain prayed at all, he might well change his supplications now and pray to be delivered from his friends, for it was into their hands that the *Vengeance* fell, with results undreamed of from the worst of her foes. The story is told by the original draft from the

hand of John Richardson, which was evidently copied and signed by officers and crew in the vain hope of possible redress at the hands of His Britannic Majesty's government:

On Friday 21st May 1779 Between 6 and 7 P M saw Two Sail Bearing about E. standing towards us, which we conjectured to be some of the Rebel Cruizers, but being so near dark could not determine their Size. The Tryon Brig Capt. Sibbles and we kept close together and Hauled our Wind for them, which the Brig Diana (from Surinam for New York whom we had spoke in the forenoon,) observing, bore down towards us for protection. About 9 P M we observed them close to us on our Starboard Bow, and the Lee-wardmost who appeared the largest seemed to be running athwart us—upon which we kept away a little and fired a Gun across his Forefoot to bring him too to speak with him. Having soon after shot up abreast of him, he Hauled his Wind on the same Tack as we (viz the Wind at Starboard) and appeared to be a very large Ship. We hailed him when he answered the Harcourt, Store Ship from London, and Capt. Dean then repeatedly and distinctly replied the Vengeance a Privateer belonging to New York George Dean Commander. He ordered us to "Hoist out our Boat or he would fire a Broadside into us": Capt. Dean answered: If you will take in your Top Gallant Sails and shorten sail I will do it immediately: Then says he "lower down your Topsails," which was done and afterwards without any other warning he poured into us a whole Broadside of Round and Grape, and Vollies of small Arms and Swivels from her three Tops and Poop. We now saw her to be a two Decker and by the light could plainly perceive the English Colours: Capt. Dean during this repeatedly hailed and told him we were a friend to the British Flag which had been displayed before coming near him, but he paid not the smallest attention to it—some of the people say they Heard repeated orders given on Board the Ship to "fire alow and aloft, and be sure to Hull her." Our People seeing themselves doomed to destruction without mercy, said they might at least have the satisfaction of returning the fire, therefore

notwithstanding Capt. Dean's repeated orders to the contrary fired the greatest part of our Broadside, and it was with the utmost difficulty they were stopt as they saw no hopes of Quarters. Not satisfied with one Broadside he continued in the same manner near half an hour untill he discharged at least five into us. The Tryon being a little way astern began to fire after the Ship's second Broadside, but stopt on being hailed by Capt. Dean and told that it was a British Man of War. All these things he well paid no attention to altho' he must have heard us not being half the distance we were from the Brig, and notwithstanding it was repeatedly told him who we were, and that we were sinking. At last he stopt and we finding several Shot between Wind and Water, the Carpenters reported their apprehensions of being unable to keep the Vessel up: upon which Capt. Dean again hailed them, and they answering he begged them to send their Boats as we were Sinking to save the People, but not the smallest notice was taken of it. Being apprehensive of his going to begin his horrid work again our Boat was hoisted out as soon as the shattered situation of the Vessel would allow and the 2d Lieut. and Copies of our Commission sent on Board: Instead of expressing the least contrition for his Conduct, his Language only seemed to indicate his being sorry that he had not sunk us all. They asked how many we had killed or wounded, however our officer going away on such a hurry could not give particular information on that head, but said he wished to get back as soon as possible, as he was afraid before that time we had gone down; In answer to this he was informed he must first go on board the Frigate and the Ship instead of bearing down to us to afford the assistance which humanity even to Rebels would have dictated, kept his Wind and went from us with the other Vessels. The officers in the Frigate behaved with great complaisance to our officer showed great compassion for us and offered to send their Surgeons in case we had none. During the absence of our Boat we happily found on more particular examination that our Hull was not so much damaged as we imagined, and got the Holes plugged up. All the Comfort our Boat brought us was that

it was His Majesty's Ship *Renown* of 50 Guns Capt. Dawson with orders to keep *by him* all night (which was a thing not in our power, our Vessel having almost everything shot to pieces and entirely out of command) as there were several Rebel Frigates cruising there, and pretended that he understood we hailed from Boston, and took us for them, altho' we were within Pistol Shot all the time.

Honour forbid asking Protection from such a Man; the Enemy we were not afraid of, as for upwards of 8 days we had been cruising along that Coast for the purpose of falling with some of their Privateers to have revenge for the loss of 3 of our Prises amissing and imagined to be retaken by them and at any rate it was impossible they could use us worse: The Relation is tiresome, and for the sake of Human Nature it were to be wished that such Conduct was buried in perpetual oblivion; but Justice forbids it and the Honour of Britain requires that such wanton and unprovoked cruelty, unworthy of a Briton, and for the Mischief produced by which Barbarity itself would even drop a Tear; should be held up to Mankind in its true and genuine light. Capt. Dean received a contusion in his left hand. One fine young lad wounded by a Musket Ball which penetrated his left Arm near the Shoulder, and breaking the Collar Bone, lodged in the right side of his Neck: The Ball was happily cut out, but it is much to be feared it will prove mortal: Another had his left Arm from the Shoulder Blade to the Elbow, shattered all to pieces by a Cannon Ball in a most shocking manner; his Wound is likewise mortal: and a third had his left shoulder Blade grazed by a Grape Shot or Ball which took off the Flesh from the other and part of the Bone, and in all appearance his Fate will be the same as the others. We were hulled in nine places; our Main Mast almost entirely shot away about 9 feet from the Deck by a 24 pounder; our Foremast wounded very much about the middle, our Main Cap gone, several of our Yards hurt; and our Boats, Sails, Standing and running rigging near entirely ruined. In short Words are insufficient to describe the Horrid scene. The damage is great and cannot possibly be ascertained, as besides the expence of refitting the Vessel it

has knocked up our Cruize. The Tryon happily received no further Damage than 2 or 3 people slightly wounded Capt. Sibles humanely offered us every assistance and staid by us till next day, when we had got our Main Mast fished and our other Damage so far repaired as to be able to make a Shift to get to New York. We likewise must not forget to mention Capt. Philips of the Diana, who staid in sight of us till next forenoon when finding us still afloat, he naturally concluded, the only assistance in his power which was to save the people in case of our sinking could not be longer requisite.

On Board the Snow Vengeance Saturday 22d May 1779.

Signed by

When, a few days later, the Vengeance sighted Sandy Hook, it was not to make that triumphant return towards which her officers and crew had looked with jubilant expectation; instead, she crept up the Narrows disabled and humiliated and anchored at New York as one who has been wounded seeks a hospital. During the three or four months that followed it cost a pretty penny to repair the damage wrought by Captain Dawson of His Britannic Majesty's Ship Renown, but the renovation went steadily forward. The prize schooner Fannie was purchased at public sale for an even £500 and fitted up to serve as a tender for the Vengeance. New cordage, new spars, new sails and anchors were provided for both; two new "double fortified 4 pounders" were bought at a cost of £100; powder and ammunition costing £672 1s. 10d. were added to that which remained from the first cruize; a new boat was purchased for £84; the "good night glass" was not forgotten; abundant provisions were supplied, including the "parcel of bread from the Le Hardy" which Captain Dean had desired, and when the privateer and her tender were again ready for the sea the debit side of the privateer's account stood charged with the handsome sum of £7151 17s. 5¾d. York currency. The schooner was re-christened the Langolee, Captain Black, commander, with 22 officers and men, and both set sail Monday, September 28, for a trial trip preparatory to their

longer cruize. A portion of the log of the *Langolee* is preserved which tells us what the daily rations of a privateersman were in the 18th century. Breakfast was at 8 A. M., dinner at noon. Each man was to have six pounds of bread per week, with a half pint of rum per day, his grog to be stopped for wrangling or quarrelling, or for getting drunk; "Bargow and Butter" for breakfast, with a pound of beef at dinner on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and on the alternate days rice and butter for breakfast with a pound of pork with pulse for dinner and on Sundays rice and molasses for breakfast with flour and beef for dinner.

On the second day after sailing they succeeded in capturing the American privateer sloop *Revenge*, Captain Edward Yorke, from Philadelphia, a vessel of 35 tons burthen with a crew of 30 officers and men; armed with eight three pound and two pound cannon and eight swivel guns, commissioned, as the condemnation papers recite, "by the persons Stiling themselves the Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, the three lower Counties on Delaware Maryland Virginia, North Carolina South Carolina, and Georgia, Rebels to our Lord the now King to Cruize against the Vessels and Effects of His Majestys Liege Subjects." The portion of the *Langolee's* log which is preserved ends October 9th, when the tender, having become separated from the *Vengeance*, was being pursued by some larger craft and it would appear that she was captured by the vigilant Yankees, for reference is afterwards made to the exchange of some of her crew including Captain Dean's brother. The *Vengeance*, however, returned to New York, and completed such further preparations as were needful. On November 5, 1779, Captain Dean writes from Sandy Hook: "I have just now returned from on board the *Admiral*, who gives me Permission to sail without even being examined. The *Anchor* is just heaving up and we proceed to Sea immediately. . . . If there is any Opportunity of writing to Bermuda I beg you will not Omit it as 'tis highly probable I will touch there for Water."

Fortune, that fickle dame, did not smile upon the Ven-

geance now as once she did. An unkindly fate that had touched her with a heavy hand when she encountered the Renown, still followed her on her second cruize. When next the doughty captain wrote, his tone was by no means cheerful.

ST. SIMONS ON BOARD THE VENGEANCE
Decr. 26th 1779

DR. SIR: I wrote You from the Hook informing you of my intention of proceeding to Sea immediately which I did with the Loss of my Anchor. I'm sorry to tell you that a Series of hard Luck has attended me ever since—being obliged to quit the Coast off Virginia, where I intended to cruize for some time, by the continual heavy Gales. Decr. 22d I arrived at the Island of St. Simons to clean and Water—and have had the Misfortune [to] lose my Boat with twelve hands. I hope however they cannot escape, as I mean to pursue them immediately to Savannah—where I suppose they have gone. I will be able to write you more fully from that place. In haste I am Dr. Sir

Your most Obt. Servt

GEORGE DEAN

A fortnight later he wrote as promised.

SAVANNAH, 10th Jany. 1780.

DEAR SIR: I wrote from St. Simons, informing You of my safe Arrival at that place, and my Intention of cleaning and Watering there. It inform'd You likewise of the Loss of My Boat and twelve hands, who found means to give me the Slip on Christmass Night. Three Days after, however, I had the good Fortune to catch them all, on my Way here, Two of the Ring-Leaders I properly secur'd and brought with Me. The rest I left in Irons on board the Snow.

My Expedition to this place has been truly a disagreeable one—having been driven ashore on the Island of St. Catharine's, and very narrowly escap'd with My Life, and since my Arrival here, three of my Boat's Crew (Hugh Wyllie, John Neilson and John Harris) on whose Fidelity I thought

I cou'd depend, have deserted, and left me in the Lurch. This last Circumstance has distressed me greatly—detaining me so much longer than I expected. Tomorrow, however, I set off for St. Simons and hope to proceed to Sea immediately on my Arrival there.

As I stood in Need of some Necessaries—I have drawn on You for £40 Stg. in favour of Mr. John Tunno, a Copy of the Accot. You have enclos'd.

I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of writing You on a more agreeable Subject.

If I shou'd have the good Fortune to take any prizes I shall send them to this Place or to Bermuda, 'till I can have an Opportunity of conveying them to York myself.

A Stephen joins me in wishing to be remember'd to You and Mr. Richardson.

Believe me to be, with great Esteem

Your most Obedt. Servt.

GEORGE DEAN.

By the endorsements in the hand of John Porteous it appears that it was April 27, 1780, before either this letter or the one that preceded it reached New York, and this was the last that was ever heard of Captain George Dean or of the privateer Vengeance.

July 11, 1780, John Richardson, who had not accompanied the Vengeance on her last cruize, wrote to Mr. Porteous from Sandy Hook as he was about leaving on a mercantile venture to Charleston, S. C.: "Yesterday a brig passed from Bermuda which I took to be Morgans, and it gave me the utmost uneasiness. I was from the same reason prevented from getting on board her to see if I could learn anything of Poor Dean. I beg you'll not forget to let me know first opportunity to Charlestown if you have heard of him." On August 22d he wrote from Charlestown: "Pray have you heard anything of poor Dean? Mr. Tunno's Brother informed me it was his firm intention to cruize a little time off Virginia and if still unsuccessful push for the West Indies, as he was determined to bottomry the Vessel rather than not do something, well knowing that returning without

a prize was almost equivalent to a total loss of the Vessel. As this is the case I form hopes that he is yet safe poor fellow."

January 20, 1781, Captain George Knowles, who had been the first lieutenant of the Vengeance on her former cruize, now having another command, wrote from Charleston, S. C. : "I am bound for Jamaica and I hoap to learn som Account of the Snow Vengeance." It proved a vain hope, and two years later, in April, 1783, a letter from England to Mr. Porteous written by Trevor Bomford, announcing the death of his brother Thomas Bomford (late captain in the 35th infantry), who had been a shareholder in the Vengeance, says, "I will esteem it a particular favor if you will acquaint me, particularly about the Snow Vengeance and if She has been heard of."

Whether the ship was lost in some fierce battle with the elements, or was sunk by the guns of her enemies, remained shrouded in mystery and may never be known. With that last word of hopeful expectation from her courageous Captain, her record was closed ; the Vengeance with her officers and crew disappeared from history and passed forever out of mortal sight and ken.



your Most Humble Servant
R. Hamilton —

IV. ROBERT HAMILTON,

THE FOUNDER OF QUEENSTON.

The warning which that royal scapegrace Prince Hal gave to his boon companion Falstaff, "List if thou canst hear the tread of travellers," might well be taken for their motto by those who would revive the memories of the past and reproduce the scenes of centuries that are fled; for though we may not share the optimistic faith of Shakespeare, who tells us by the false Duke of Milan's lips that "travellers ne'er did lie," yet without their aid historical research would oftentimes fail and old-time landmarks be forgotten. In this respect our Niagara frontier is fortunate, for the world-wide fame of the great cataract led many early travellers hither to tell their stories, each in his own way, and very often to our edification and advantage.

So it happened that in 1795 a French nobleman, the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, visited Niagara, and journeying from Fort Erie northward to Newark or West Niagara, a cluster of 100 houses on Mississauga Point where Niagara-on-the-Lake now stands, he paid his respects in passing to the little village of Queenston, which had sprung up at the beginning of the portage on the British side of the river leading around the falls to Chippewa.

He writes under date of June 22, 1795: "The roads from Fort Erie to Newark are tolerably open and lie for the most

part over a sandy ground which renders it more easy to keep them in repair. The frequent passage to and fro in this part of the country does not destroy them. Such commodities as are destined for the upper country are unshipped in Queen's Town, and goods expedited from it are embarked in this place. The different buildings constructed three years ago, consist of a tolerable inn, two or three good storehouses, some small houses, a block-house of stone covered with iron, and barracks which should be occupied by the regiment of General Simcoe, but which are now unoccupied, the regiment being quartered in another part of the province. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses in Queen's Town a very fine house built in the English style, a distillery and tan-yard. This merchant bears an excellent character; he is a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, but at present in England."*

Concerning the Honorable Robert Hamilton, who is thus introduced to us, Dr. William Canniff states in his "History of the Province of Ontario" (p. 598) that it is said he "died leaving an estate worth £200,000."

It seems a curious fact that so little should remain upon record concerning this founder of Queenston, a man who was of such importance at the time in which he lived, who was so intimately concerned in the politics of Upper Canada, whose business was so extended and prosperous, and who accumulated such extraordinary wealth for that early day. Some old letters from his pen which have lately come to light awakened a desire to know something more concerning him who wrote them, but the results of a careful research seem far from satisfactory and give but a meagre outline of his story.

He was the son of a Scotch clergyman, the Rev. John Hamilton of the old Dumfries family, born 1714, died 1797, who was minister of Bolton, Haddingtonshire, Scotland. A cousin had emigrated to America and was a hose-maker

*"Travels through the United States of North America," etc., in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797, by the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt. English edition, London, 1799, p. 214.

somewhere in New England, and it was to join him that young Robert Hamilton crossed the Atlantic at some time between 1760 and 1770.

Concerning his early career there is no record whatever, nor can we learn whether he went to Canada before the outbreak of the Revolution. Possibly, as in the case of his friend and associate Richard Cartwright, his loyalty to the Crown led him to leave rebellious New England when troubles threatened, for in June, 1779, we find him established as trader or factor at Carleton Island at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. In May, 1778, British troops detached from the garrisons at Niagara and Oswegatchie had taken possession of what had formerly been called Deer or Buck Island, changing its name in honor of General Guy Carleton, establishing a military post known as Fort Haldimand and building wharves and storehouses. Carleton Island then became the point for reshipment for stores of all kinds brought in bateaux from Montreal for the supply of the western posts during the continuance of the war. Here we have our first glimpse of Robert Hamilton in a letter written by him June 29, 1779, to Francis Goring, trader's clerk at Fort Niagara, informing him that the General had refused to allow passes for the merchants' goods going to the upper posts.*

Niagara was a busy place in those days, for almost all goods for the upper posts had to pass that way and Lt. Col. Bolton, then in command, complained bitterly that the fort itself was "quite lumbered with merchandise" and that even the officers' barracks were filled with goods, causing him apprehension that this might be a temptation to the enemy to attack his isolated post.

Isolated it certainly was and Hamilton's correspondent, Francis Goring, who had lived there from August, 1776, as clerk for Edward Pollard, the leading trader and for his successors, Captain Thomas Robison and George Forsyth, wrote September 23, 1779: "This is a place which you may say is almost out of the world, in the woods, and frequented by nothing but Indians except the people of the garrison.

*Transactions Canadian Institute, December, 1895, p. 303.

. . . At this place is carried on a great business which consumes every year £30,000 Sterling worth of merchandise of all sorts, which is mostly retailed to the Indians."*

At this time there would seem to have been some business connection between these correspondents. Francis Goring had been in Edward Pollard's employment and although that successful trader had by 1779 accumulated a fortune that permitted him to return to England, some of his interests were doubtless still committed to Goring's care. September 14, 1779, the latter wrote to Hamilton: "Tobacco is a very scarce article at Detroit and sells at from eight to ten shillings a pound. I have made out another Indian account for £5808 17s. 9½d., which is now gone to the Indian country to be certified,"† and Edward Pollard wrote to Goring from London, 27th March, 1780: "By this conveyance I send Mr. Douglas to assist you. He supplies the place of Mr. Hamilton who leaves you in June."‡

Among the Haldimand papers is a memorandum of "Goods belonging to Forsyth & Dyce, Merchts, Detroit, now laying at Carleton Island, April 20th, 1780, under charge of R. Hamilton."§

It was probably about this time that he entered into partnership with Richard Cartwright, a young man of excellent education, born at Albany in 1759, whose thoughts had turned to the ministry, but who had accompanied his parents to Canada at the outbreak of the Revolution "and for a time attended Colonel Butler of the Rangers as his Secretary." Bishop Strachan in his sketch of Cartwright says: "At the solicitation of a near and worthy relation he formed a connection with the Honorable Robert Hamilton, a gentleman of such varied information, engaging manners and princely hospitality, as to be justly esteemed an honour to the Province. His memory is gratefully remembered by thousands whom his magnanimous liberality rescued from famine. The connection subsisted with great satisfaction to both

*Transactions Canadian Institute, September, 1893, p. 274.

†Transactions Canadian Institute, December, 1895, p. 304.

‡"Buffalo and the Senecas," Wm. Ketchum; Vol. II., p. 122.

§Canadian Archives, Haldimand Col., B. 127, p. 136.

parties for several years, when, on account of the extent of their business, a separation took place by mutual consent, Mr. Hamilton going to Niagara, and Mr. Cartwright remaining at Kingston; but their mutual regard and friendship was only dissolved by death.”*

In 1782 the settlement on the north shore of Lake Ontario at Cataraqui (Kingston) was in progress. A wharf was built and permanent buildings were being erected and apparently at this time the business of Hamilton and Cartwright was transferred from Carleton Island, as under date of November 2, 1782, Robert Hamilton gave an obligation to the Canadian Government “not to consider the house he has built (at Cataraqui) as private property, but subject to demolition if required by the King’s service or to forfeiture in event of bad conduct.”†

The records do not show just when Robert Hamilton removed to Niagara. It is probable that the general trading and forwarding business in which Hamilton and Cartwright were engaged made it advisable that one of the partners should be at Niagara while the other remained at Kingston. A letter written by a Miss Powell during a journey from Montreal to Detroit in May, 1785, says: “Fort Niagara is by no means pleasantly situated. It is built close upon the lake which gains upon it so fast that in a few years they must be overflowed. There, however, we passed some days very agreeably at the house of a Mr. Hamilton, a sensible, worthy man. Mrs. Hamilton is an amiable, sweet little woman; I regretted very much she did not live at Detroit instead of at Niagara.”

Robert Hamilton was first married to Catherine Askin, widow of John Robertson, and their eldest son was born at Fort Niagara, in 1787. This was the first year of the “great famine” among the loyalists who had emigrated to Canada after the close of the war, and it is doubtless to his generous benefactions to those in distress at this time that Bishop Strachan so feelingly alludes.

*“Life and Letters of the late Richard Cartwright,” Toronto, 1876, p. 14.

†Canadian Archives, Haldimand Col., B. 126, p. 72.

‡“Buffalo and the Senecas,” Wm. Ketchum, Vol. II., p. 90.

Inasmuch as the British continued to hold possession of the western posts until 1796, thirteen years after the signing of the definitive treaty of peace, under which they should have been delivered over to the United States, the route of western travel remained unchanged for many years and provisions and stores for the British garrisons at Detroit and Michillimackinac, as well as the Indian goods and general supplies for the fur traders, continued to pass over the Niagara portage as they had since the capture of Fort Niagara by the British in 1759. The goods, securely packed for rough handling, were brought to the landing at Lewiston by small sailing vessels or by bateaux and were hoisted to the top of the "mountain" by Montresor's "cradles," then carted over the long portage road to Fort Schlosser and sent by boats to Fort Erie, where they were finally reshipped to their destination.

When it became evident that sooner or later the posts must be given up to the Americans, who would then control the old Niagara portage, the British traders and forwarders appreciated the need of a new road upon the Canadian side by which they could pass the falls on their way to the western lakes and as early as 1789 Robert Hamilton obtained permission to erect wharves and storehouses on the west side of the river as well as at Chippewa and Fort Erie. Accordingly a wharf was built on the west bank of the Niagara opposite the time-honored landing at Lewiston and a road laid out to Chippewa, which now supplanted Fort Schlosser as the point of transfer on the water route to Fort Erie. This now became "Fort Chippewa" and was protected by a small garrison. The new landing on the lower Niagara was at first called the "West landing," or more frequently "Landing of Niagara," until 1792, when under date of November 26th, we find one of Mr. Hamilton's letters dated "Landing—now Queenston." Doubtless the new name given in honor of Queen Charlotte was adopted at Robert Hamilton's suggestion. A stone blockhouse had been built, two or three good storehouses erected and gradually the route of travel around the falls was changed to the Canadian side of the river and Queenston became for half a century or more a

busy spot of commercial importance, through which western traffic flowed and in later years the tides of western emigration, until with the building of railroads westward all this was again changed and of the once thriving village there remained only the sleepy and somewhat ruinous vestiges that we know today.

In 1800, when the English artist John Maude visited Niagara, he tells us that there were but two houses at Lewiston, one being the ferry house, but he was much impressed by what he saw at Queenston. "There is a portage," he says, "from this place to Chippewa, which employs numerous teams, chiefly oxen, each cart being drawn by two yoke of oxen or two horses; I passed great numbers on the road taking up bales and boxes and bringing down packs of peltries. Fourteen teams were at the wharf waiting to be loaded. Here were also three schooners."

Maude, however, had his own blunt British opinion of what the Duke de la Rochetoucault Liancourt had with fine French politeness called in 1795 "a tolerable inn." He says: "I sat down to a miserable dinner at Fairbank's Tavern, and after dinner sent my introductory letter to Col. Hamilton from his friend, Mr. Bache of New York, which procured me an invitation to supper. The goodness of the supper made amends for the badness of my dinner. Col. Hamilton has a good house and garden."*

Besides the wharf and storehouse, the farm, the distillery and the tanyard which Robert Hamilton had established at Queenston, he had erected a handsome stone residence "in the English style" on the high bank overlooking the river, the site of which may still be marked on the pleasant grounds of "Halcyon," the summer residence of Richard K. Noye of Buffalo. This was apparently completed and occupied in 1791, for Captain Patrick Campbell, who visited Niagara in that year, writes, under date of December 8th: "Mr. Robert Hamilton, a gentleman of the first rank and property in the neighborhood, and now one of the Governor's council, came also to wait on me, and invite me to his house, an honor I readily embraced. He and Mrs. Hamilton were so

*"Visit to the Falls of Niagara in 1800," by J. Maude, London, 1826, p. 160.

very obliging as to go along with me in their own slea, to see the Grand Falls of Niagara," and he again notes, February 16, 1792, "Called at Mr. Hamilton's and arrived in the evening at Niagara."*

One of the earliest glimpses of this new home comes to us from the diary of Mrs. Simcoe, who writes at "Niagara, 30th July, 1792: "We stopped and breakfasted at Mr. Hamilton's, a merchant who lives two miles from here at the landing, where the cargoes going to Detroit are landed and sent 9 miles to Ft. Chippewa. Mr. Hamilton has a very good stone house, the back rooms looking on the river. A gallery, the length of the house, is a delightful covered walk, both below and above in all weather."

Such a residence was a landmark on this new and wild frontier and was made the more beautiful and noteworthy from the generous hospitality with which its friendly doors were opened. It became an added pleasure to those oftentimes distinguished people who journeyed far to visit the great American cataract if they might be entertained at Queenston by Robert Hamilton, and here and there we find its acknowledgment, as we have already seen, in their published volumes of travel.

When the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, visited Niagara in August, 1792, upon his return from the Falls, he was entertained at luncheon by Robert Hamilton, as we learn from the manuscript memoirs of Colonel John Clark, who calls him "our greatest man next to Simcoe."

A pleasant picture of festivity in that early day on the Niagara frontier as well as of its literary aspiration is the account of a wedding in the fine old house, on the night of St. Andrew's Day in 1799. Of this the following notice appeared in the *Toronto Constellation*, November 23, 1799:

"Married at the seat of the Hon. Mr. Hamilton at Queens-ton, on Sunday last, Mr. Thomas Dickson, merchant, to the amiable Mrs. Taylor, daughter of Captain Wilkinson, commanding Fort Erie.

"For thee, best treasure of a husband's heart,
Whose bliss it is that thou for life art so;
That thy fond bosom bears a faithful part
In every casual change his breast may know."

*"Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America in the years 1791 and 1792," by P. Campbell, Edinburgh, 1793, pp. 174, 215.

The *Upper Canada Gazette* also pays tribute to the charms of the bride to whom the epithet "amiable" is again applied, and although this dignified journal does not "drop into poetry" as did its starry rival, it gives the added news, that upon this occasion "Hon. R. Hamilton gave a most elegant dinner; 30 Scottish gentlemen and 12 others; no dinner given in Canada has been equal."

From the year 1789, when the West landing was built and the new portage begun, Robert Hamilton controlled the Canadian transfer business on the Niagara and prospered therein. Besides the storehouses and other structures at Queenston he had erected similar buildings at Chippewa and others at Fort Erie. In 1795, when the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt visited the latter place he was but poorly impressed with its defensive worth. He says there were a few rude wooden blockhouses surrounded with rotting palisades, occupied by officers and soldiers; four of a like sort outside the palisades used by the workmen and "a large magazine or storehouse belonging to the King." Standing apart from this he describes a storehouse "belonging to a private gentleman in which are housed the goods for Detroit and the West, as well as those coming from thence for Niagara, Kingston, Montreal or Quebec." This was Hamilton's warehouse and a passage in the description indicates in a measure the extent of his forwarding business. "The owner of the storehouse hires at times about twenty Canadians for the shipping and unshipping of the goods, for carrying them into the magazines and transporting the boats by land to the lower country."

It would appear that four years later, in 1799, Mr. Hamilton made further important and costly improvements at Fort Erie to meet the necessities of commerce. A letter from R. Hamilton & Co., Queenston, April 24, 1805, addressed to James Green, Esq., Military Secy., York, shows that the firm had been requested to execute papers that would, if need compelled, place all this frontier property at the disposal of the Government. Against this Mr. Hamilton protests, reciting the permission he had received in 1789 to erect these buildings and that no restrictions were then imposed,

but he relied upon just treatment and the encouragement of commerce. "On the faith of this Permission we did at a very considerable expense erect wharves and storehouses along this communication and through them we have for the length of fifteen years, carried on the transfer business of the country without question or any interruption or interference on the part of Government, or of any of the Military Commandants of the Posts."

He adds: "We do not object to signing the papers required for the stores at this place, and at the Chippewa, where our erections are of Wood, and consequently of less value. But what can we do with those at Fort Erie, where seven years ago, in the firm faith of what is before stated, in the view and with the perfect knowledge of the Engineer and all the Military in these parts, we have erected a wharf and stone storehouse in a situation, where a store of other materials could not properly stand, at the expense of not less than four thousand dollars, and we are now called upon to declare under our hands that in so doing we have forfeited all right to the permission granted us of possessing a lott there. Surely a concession so unreasonable will never be required of us."*

There is nothing to show that the exigencies of the times required any destruction of these valuable properties until the War of 1812 swept the frontier, which was after Mr. Hamilton's death.

By proclamation, dated July 24, 1788, Lord Dorchester, Governor General of Canada, divided Upper Canada into four districts: Lunenburg, extending from the Lower Canada line to the river Thames; Mecklenburgh, from the Thames to the Trent; Nassau, from the Trent to Long Point on Lake Erie, and Hesse, covering the remainder of Western Canada, including Detroit. He appointed a judge and a sheriff for each district and made Robert Hamilton Judge of Nassau, while his old friend and partner, Richard Cartwright, became Judge of Mecklenburgh. As military law had hitherto prevailed, these were the first courts of justice and the first magistrates in the province and concerning

*Canadian Archives, Series C, Vol. 272, p. 124.

them Canniff says, "The Judge seems to have been clothed with almost absolute power. He dispensed justice according to his own understanding or interpretation of the law, and a Sheriff or Constable stood ready to carry out the decision, which in his wisdom he might arrive at."

When the separation of the provinces occurred and the Government of Upper Canada was first organized in July, 1792, by Colonel John Graves Simcoe, the pioneer Lieutenant Governor under Lord Dorchester, a Legislative Council, consisting of nine members, was summoned, Robert Hamilton and Richard Cartwright being of the number. During his administration Governor Simcoe acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hamilton for much valuable information received from him respecting matters of commerce, particularly regarding the Indian trade, but both Hamilton and Cartwright found themselves much at variance with the Governor, whom they thought extravagant in his caprices, desiring measures "inapplicable to the state of society in this country." This awakened his lively displeasure and caused him with great injustice to represent both as being "inimical to Government" and to denounce Hamilton as an "avowed Republican." Concerning this Mr. Cartwright wrote October 1, 1794, "I will not hesitate to assert that his Majesty has not two more loyal subjects, and in this province none more useful, than Mr. Hamilton and myself, nor shall even the little pitiful jealousy that exists with respect to us make us otherwise. And though I hope we shall always have fortitude enough to do our duty, we are by no means disposed to form cabals, and certainly have not, nor do, intend wantonly to oppose or thwart the Governor."*

Dr. Canniff states that prior to 1799, when Dr. Strachan came to Kingston, the only able teacher in Upper Canada was the Rev. John Stuart of that place. "Hon. Robert Hamilton of Queenston had at that time a brother living in Scotland and it was through him that an offer was made first to the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. He did not desire to come and mentioned the name of his friend, Strachan, to

*"Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright," p. 59.

whom the offer was then made and who decided to come." At a later day he became the first Bishop of Toronto.

Mr. Hamilton's first wife having died in 1796, he was again married to Mary Herkimer, widow of Neil McLean. He had five children by his first wife and three by his second. He died at Queenston, March 8, 1809. The *York Gazette* of March 22, 1809, says: "His public utility, benevolence and conciliating disposition will render his death long and feelingly regretted."

The letters which follow are selected from a considerable number recently found, covering Robert Hamilton's correspondence at intervals from 1789 to 1799 with Mr. Porteous, a merchant at Little Falls, N. Y. John Porteous, a native of Perth, Scotland, had come to America about the year 1761, and had been associated with James Sterling and Phyn & Ellice of Schenectady in the fur trade at Detroit and Michillimackinac until the beginning of the Revolutionary War. While the British army occupied New York he was engaged in general merchandizing there, but after the evacuation went to Nova Scotia, where he remained until about 1788, when he returned to the State of New York and still retaining a connection with James Phyn and Alexander Ellice of London, took up lands at the Little Falls on the Mohawk River, where he built a flouring mill and carried on a trading business until his death in 1799.

When the correspondence began Hamilton and Cartwright were the leading merchants at Fort Niagara; the loyalist emigration from the United States had settled the Canadian border; there was a small village on the western bank of the Niagara River opposite the old fort, largely settled by officers and men who had been enrolled in Butler's Rangers; the three years of famine and destitution were about ended; the British held the western posts with unyielding tenacity in despite of all negotiations for their cession, and exerted every endeavor to keep the Indians as their allies and to maintain a firm grasp upon the western fur trade.

At this time Hamilton was seeking permission to build his wharf and storehouse at the West landing, and his let-

ters are of interest as giving occasional glimpses of life and its doings on this distant frontier, of some of the men concerned therein and of his own habit of thought and prudent judgment in public as well as private affairs.

In September, 1789, John Richardson, who had formerly been intimately associated with John Porteous at New York,* now engaged in the Indian trade at Montreal and later a member of the first Legislative Council of Quebec, visited the western trading posts and wrote: "Col. Hunter has left Niagara and is succeeded by Col. Harris. . . . The forts in the Upper Country are all undergoing a repair this year, so that there appears no idea of delivering them over to Jonathan, and to take them by force would not be an easy business for him, were he so inclined." At Niagara he had made the acquaintance of Robert Hamilton, whose letters now begin.

NIAGARA, 28 Oct. 89.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed, from my friend Mr. Richardson was intended to recommend me to your Kind Civilities. I have occasion instantly to put these to the test, by troubling you to Recover for some persons here, a sum of money due by a Capt. Bend Frey, late of this place, but now residing in your neighborhood. He is intitled to half pay as Captain in Col. Butler's Rangers. I now inclose a power of Attorney by which he constitutes Mesrs. Phyn & Ellice irrevocably as his Agents. Also an Assignment of this half pay, by which he proposes to pay his Creditors and an obligation to put the Vouchers for this regularly into your hands as they become due. Lest these should fail he has granted a Bond also payable to you for same sum, by which we presume you may inforce the other, should he prove backward in delivering the Vouchers. These when obtained will you be so obliging to take to your own Account and have the Goodness to answer my drfts for the Amount, which shall only be given when you inform me you are in Cash for the same. My principal wish in settling it in this way is to provide a little fund to answer occasionally small demands due by persons with you. The terms of Agency I leave intirely

*See "A British Privateer in the American Revolution," *ante*, p. 47.

to yourself. I will Account with the other Creditors here for the separate Amounts due them. For all this trouble I can only plead your Goodness, and my own willingness to serve you whenever Occasion shall put it in my power.

With Sincere Respect I remain, Dear Sir,
Your most humble Servt.,

Mr. John Porteous.

R. HAMILTON.

This Captain Bernard Frey, sometimes called Barent Frey, was a member of a prominent family in the Mohawk Valley which had become bitterly divided at the outbreak of the Revolution. His brother, Major John Frey, became an officer in the American army, while another brother, Colonel Hendrick Frey, who had fought bravely in the French war, retained his loyalist sympathies throughout the struggle for independence, but took no active part on either side. When the war broke out Bernard Frey, with his nephew, Philip R. Frey (son of Col. Hendrick Frey), went to Canada and himself became a captain in Butler's Rangers. He fought at the battle of Oriskany and later in all the fierce border forays at Wyoming, Cherry Valley and on the Mohawk, and Stone's life of Brant publishes the extraordinary statement of an eye witness that when Major John Frey was made captive, Bernard attempted to take his brother's life and was only restrained by force. He received a large grant at Whitby from the Crown, and lived until 1813 when he was killed at Newark by an American cannon ball from Fort Niagara. By the assignment and bond which were enclosed with this letter it appears that he then owed Hamilton & Cartwright £243. Street & Butler £156 18s. 9½d., John Burch £109 9s. 11½d., John Thompson £10 12d. and Philip Stedman £5 10s., New York currency, all of these parties being named as merchants at Niagara.

Several letters now passed between Mr. Hamilton and his correspondent with reference to Captain Frey's affairs and the following alludes to another similar case:

NIAGARA, Decr. 10, 1790.

GENTLEMEN: I am favored with yours pr Mr. McEwan and have charged him Two pounds five shillings and nine

pence York agreeable to your request, which sum is at your Credit with me. When Leisure permits I will thank you to mention if Capt. Frey has given his six months Vouchers to June to you or if there is a Chance of getting those to 24th Inst without trouble.

Permitt me also to mention that another of our Captains—Andrew Bradt—is now down with you and may perhaps be induced to raise money on his Vouchers. He has Assigned over the whole of his half pay to the Creditors here for some years to come, which Assignment is lodged with his Agents, who are apointed irrevocably, so that his Vouchers can not serve, but thro their hands. This for your Guidance should he apply to you—I would not, however, wish his Situation generally known.

The present will be handed you by Lieut. Gillespie of the 65th Regt who has resided at this post for some time and who now passes your place in his Rout to New York. You will Confer a particular favor on me by showing him any Civility in your power. Should any Circumstance occur that might induce him to apply for pecuniary Assistance you may depend on his Bills on Canada or London being duly honor'd as should those on me should he think proper to draw.

Excuse this trouble and believe me Gentlemen,
Your most humble Svt.

R. HAMILTON.

Messrs. Porteous & Pollard.

The next letter touches upon public affairs and was written from the new "Landing of Niagara," whither the changes in his business matters frequently called him at this time.

LANDING OF NIAGARA, May 22d, 1791.

DEAR SIR: I am this day favored with yours of 10th March and 2nd Inst. and take the earliest opportunity of returning my thanks for your kind attention to Capt. Freys Business. The Intelligence of the fate of his Bills comes most opportunely to help me to settle the affairs of a Major Nellis lately deceased in this Province and who has left con-

siderable property, part of it to his two sons residing in your Neighborhood. Another son he has had at the School of Schenectady for some time and for his Expenses I have valued on you at 30 days for Forty-five pounds, Ten Shillings—In favor of John H. Nellis. I have also valued on you for £20 positively and for thirty-two pounds Ten—when you shall be in Cash for the Vouchers before mentioned to 24th Dec. A third son (name unknown) has from the same Estate to Receive £190 York. For any part of which should it suit you as a Merchant to deal with him, I shall be happy in securing you, prior to his coming here to settle the Business. I directly forwarded Mr. Burchs Letter as you desire. He lives 10 miles from this and I'm afraid may not hear in time of the present opportunity to Embrace it.

Our lattest Accounts from Britain say nothing as yet about giving up these posts. Our present Care in repairing them with the utmost diligence seem to point out the wish of making them worth something as Military posts when given up. Should such an Event take place the Pleasure of hearing from, perhaps Occasionally seeing our friends from your Quarter would in part recompense the Chagrin it might otherwise Occasion. Do me the honor of Accepting my Drafts and Believe me

Dear Sir Your most hum. Servt.

R. HAMILTON.

John Porteous, Esq.

Major Robert Nellis, to whom the foregoing letter refers, had been an officer of Butler's Rangers and from the documents found with the letter it appears that the drafts in favor of his children were duly accepted and paid. The next letter, written on the eve of Colonel Simcoe's arrival to take up the reins of government in the newly-created Upper Province, is of much interest as indicative of the thoughtful judgment of one of its leading men deeply concerned for the best welfare of his country.

NIAGARA, 2nd August, 1791.

DEAR SIR: The Oportunity which hands you this, has been delayed for a Month waiting a return boat to your

place: during all that time we have not had one come this way. I was duly favored with yours of 2nd June covering the different papers which Mr. Burch and his wife had to sign. Fortunately Mr. Richardson from Montreal was here at the time and took on himself the whole charge of seeing them executed, a Circumstance I was much pleased at, as he from his particular acquaintance with this Business, obviated some difficulties I should otherwise have been hampered with. You will now from Mr. Douglas the Bearer hereof, receive all these papers settled I trust to your satisfaction, if any thing remains undone I will be gratified on Receiving your further Commands.

Mr. Douglas is a young man who has resided with us for some time past, he is now called home to Scotland on some family Business. He will be thankful to you for your advice in the best mode of getting from Schenectady to New York, where he has acquaintances. I believe the Rout no way difficult but he is rather a Stranger to travelling.

Mr. Macomb with his large family and his boat which we denominated the little Ark, as Containing some thing of every thing, passed this and got safe to Detroit in perhaps as short a time as that voyage was ever compleated in. He found every thing there as he wished, and is now I believe settled very much to his satisfaction. The English papers which you see, Contain every thing new we have in the Country. By these you will observe we are on the point of getting a New Constitution, with a separate Government for this new Country, which as not involving us in Canadian Politicks promises to be of essential use. We have some reason to hope that Colonel Simpcoe our proposed Governor may come to this Country by the way of your Seaports, authorized to settle with Congress the doubtfull line of division which must be a pleasant thing to both countries. Capt. Joseph Brant after having attended for some time the Councils of the Western Indians at the Miamis River, sett of a few days ago for Quebec, attended with several of the Chiefs from that Quarter. As they avowedly go to ask Lord Dorchester's advice and as we well know his and Governments strong desire for peace, we would gladly hope that it may

be the means of bringing on an Accomodation. Much will depend upon the moderation of your side. You have strength and power I doubt not to drive them to the last extremities—but when you consider that most assuredly their next resource will be to accept the strong offers and pressing Instances of the Spaniards to settle on their side, and that the only Motive for these offers is to form a barrier between you and them, which by restraining your frontier Settlements, will keep you at a Distance from them, of which they are so jealous,—when you consider the present animosity of the Indians, aggravated by their loss of Lands and every thing dear to them, Policy and humanity will perhaps dictate an accommodation on Reasonable terms as preferable to the greatest success which may probably entail a cruel predatory war on the defenceless settlers of your Western boundary, for many years. My wish for peace has led me further into the field of Politicks than I had intended. I now have done.

Inclosed please receive a draft on Messrs. Todd & McGill for £20 York for four bills of 100/ each received by Mr. Macomb from your Mr. Pollard, due 10th Oct. when the paper money of this Country is payable. At your Leisure will you have the goodness to favor me with a state of the little transactions between us, that I may make our books correspond with yours. I have to thank you for your kind Acceptance of my drafts in favor of Mr. Nellis.

With Sincere Respect I remain

Dear Sir Your most Obedient and very humble Servt

R. HAMILTON.

John Porteous, Esq.

This letter gives expression to the feeling which was common at this time among the better class of British traders at the western posts. Aside from such high motives as we may well believe influenced a man of Mr. Hamilton's character, those of self-interest led the fur traders to deprecate a continuance of hostilities between the Americans and the Indians. It was simply ruinous to their trade. The home Government also wanted peace. So long as they could man-

age to retain the posts, His Majesty's ministers were earnest in their desire not only to maintain a strict neutrality, but to do all within their power to terminate hostilities. And yet there was much smouldering bitterness of feeling which was but poorly concealed. Three months after this letter was written St. Clair met his crushing defeat by the Indians at the Wabash and Captain Patrick Campbell, whose visit to Fort Niagara was in the following month, December, 1791, tells of the jubilation with which the officers of that garrison received the news.

Throughout the two succeeding years such feelings of hostility as existed were for the most part suppressed or at least were passive, but conditions changed very greatly with the news of war between Great Britain and France in 1793. British impressment of American seamen and British embargoes upon American commerce aroused much resentment; the arrival and ill-advised conduct of Genet was the cause of much irritation, and by the spring of 1794 the relations between Great Britain and America had become seriously strained, a state of affairs which was unfortunately reflected in the imprudent action of Lord Dorchester, the Canadian Governor, who, in an address to the Indians, February 10th, expressed his belief that war would be declared within the year and added, "our patience is almost exhausted." In April Lieutenant Governor Simcoe went so far as to build and garrison a fort in the heart of the Miami country to the great encouragement of the hostile tribes and to the great disgust of General Wayne, who found the British rangers fighting with the Indians at the Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, when he routed both so effectually as to put a stop once for all to Indian hostilities and to bring a lasting peace to the border. It is interesting at such a time to note the attitude of Mr. Hamilton, who was then one of the Legislative Council and evidently not in sympathy with Governor Simcoe.

DEAR SIR: I have received several of your late favors which my present time will not permit me to Reply. I, however, with you most sincerely deprecate a war between

Britain and America as an Event that both parties must most essentially lose by, and neither so far as I can judge have the least chance of Gain.

I remain most Respectfully, Dear Sir,

Your most hum. Servt.

R. HAMILTON.

QUEENSTON, May 28th, 1794.

On the 26th of August, 1794, he again writes: "Our crops are now all in and we have great plenty most earnestly praying for its concomitant Blessing *Peace*."

A fortnight later (September 6, 1794,) he writes: "I sincerely hope with you that all chance of warr between these Neighboring Countries is now at an End. In that case I have some hopes of paying you a Visit this ensuing winter on my way to England."

Fortunately his hopes were realized. Wayne had conquered peace for the borders and the successful negotiations of Jay in England in that year resulted in the treaty with Great Britain which bears his name. The numerous letters which Mr. Hamilton had written during 1792 and 1793 referred, in the main, to transactions of business or courtesy; the passing eastward of friends who were commended to his correspondent's kind offices; the non-arrival of Indian messengers who had proven untrustworthy, etc. Prior to the autumn of 1792 they are dated at "Landing of Niagara," but in November the name of Queenston is first used and the letter is of interest as showing how isolated the Niagara frontier was a century ago and how slowly the news of the great world reached it.

LANDING—now QUEENSTON, Nov. 26, 1792.

DEAR SIR: I am favored with yours of 31st ulto. and thank you for the news papers sent. The present very unsettled state of Europe makes [us] wait with much Anxiety for Accounts from home and as the communication by the Lower Province is very tedious as well as uncertain we are projecting with the profered aid of a Capt. Williamson of the Genesee Country to establish thro that place a Post once a Fortnight to New York. In the Event of this taking place

I have directed a New York paper to be regularly sent me and I purpose getting a London paper now sent to Quebec transferred to this Rout. Will you have the Goodness to inform me if the post passes your place and of the Expence that will attend the postage of a paper from New York to your place, and to the Genesee. If it would afford the smallest amusement to you I would most willingly direct the London paper to be addressed to your Care.

Accept my best thanks for your attention to the Mill stones ordered from Schenectady. Their Amount with the charges on them shall be remitted by the earliest opportunity after receiving the Account.

With much respect I remain,

Dear Sir, your very Humble Servt,

R. HAMILTON.

Besides his store at Little Falls, John Porteous had built a custom mill for Mohawk Valley trade and might very safely be entrusted with the purchase of the pair of Esopus mill-stones "four feet four in diameter" which Mr. Hamilton had ordered for "a neighbor," and also with the further commission of February 5, 1793, "I will thank you for procuring for me a Boulting Cloth of the best Quality for doing Country work. To you as a Brother Miller I need not be more particular in my directions. I wish it by the earliest boat."

In a letter of January 27, 1794, he writes: "Will you have the goodness to inform me what you know of the property in Land or otherwise belonging to the children of the late Sir Win. Johnson by Mary Brant, particularly of that portion pertaining to the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, late the wife of Robert Kerr. I am sorry to inform you that the poor woman died some days ago in childbed."

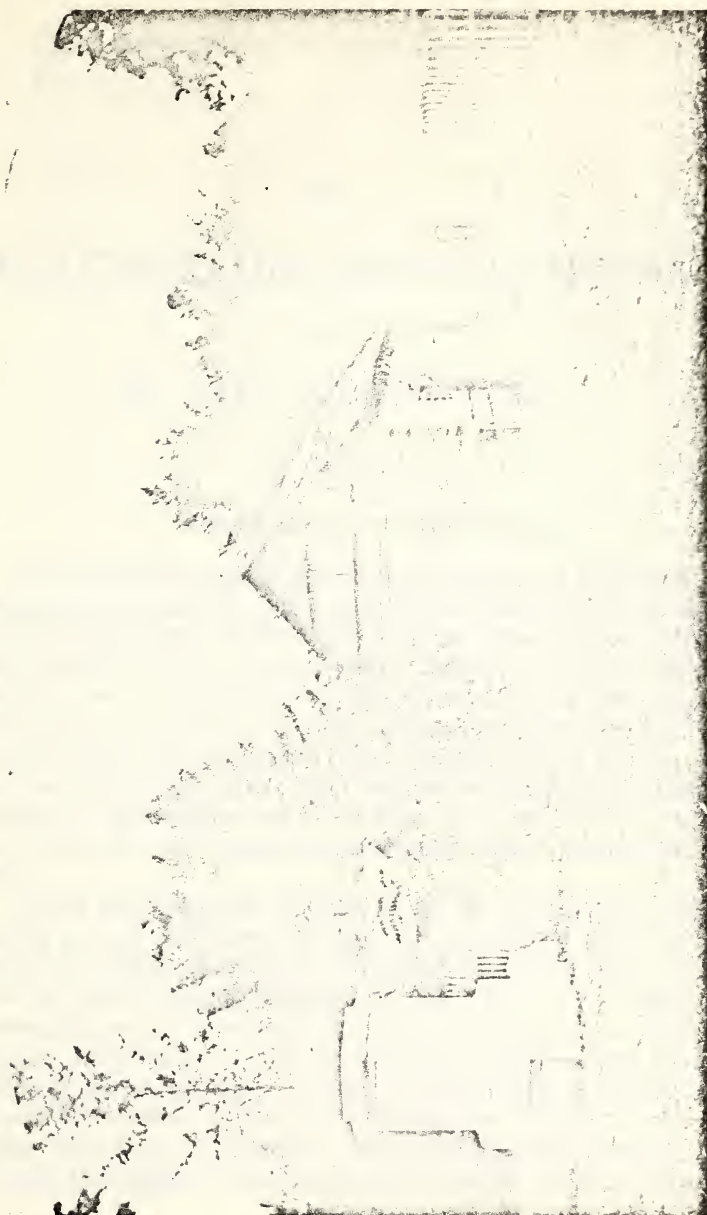
This refers to Dr. Robert Kerr, who had been a surgeon in the British army and now resided near Niagara. His own letters preserved with these, show that in 1795 he made Mr. Porteous his attorney to sell the Mohawk river lands and those in the Royal Grant which his wife had inherited from her distinguished father.

The flourishing fruit orchards of the lower Niagara had their beginning about this time, for March 9, 1794, Mr. Hamilton wrote: "I have this day sent a small sum of money to our friend, Mr. Alexander Macomb of New York to be laid out in Fruit trees from the nursery of Mr. Prince on Long Island on account of a Society established here for the purpose of promoting Agriculture. I have taken the liberty to desire these to be addressed to your care in Schenectady. Will you have the goodness to direct Mr. Miller obligingly to forward these if possible by the very first boat that may come to this place, as it is of much consequence to have them here early in the season."

Under the operation of Jay's treaty Fort Niagara was finally delivered over to the United States August 11, 1796, but the only effect of this long anticipated and long postponed event which appears in Mr. Hamilton's letters is a reference to a claim against Philip Stedman sent him for collection, concerning which he says that Stedman is now a resident of the United States and difficult to reach by processes of law. The letters from this time onward deal mostly with personal affairs, though they contain frequent mention of familiar names. His kinsfolk and associates, William and Thomas Dickson, are commended to his correspondent's kind offices. Judge Powell carries a letter of introduction referring to those civilities "which you so kindly show to every body from this Quarter." At another time he says: "Our Chief Justice, Mr. Ellensley, has mentioned more than once his sense of your Kindness while they were detained at the Little Falls." The boats that go down to Schenectady must come back well laden, and scythes and axes, woolen checks and tea, nankeens and casks of nails, indigo, candles and French brandy snuggle together cheek by jowl when the bateaux return and doubtless both of the thrifty Scotchmen profit thereby.

It is certainly in a spirit of thankfulness that Robert Hamilton closes his letter of Sept. 5, 1798, "Having nothing new to offer from this remote corner, where however, thank God, we enjoy more peace and as much plenty as falls to the Lott of most of our Brethren of Mankind, I conclude," etc.

A few months later, in March, 1799, John Porteous died, and although Robert Hamilton survived him for a decade, it was perhaps fortunate that he did not live to see within four short years his dreams of peace rudely shattered, contending armies in bloody strife at his very door, his own home destroyed and the beautiful Niagara border, the region that he loved, devastated by the stern vicissitudes of relentless war.



THE OLD CANADEA COUNCIL HOUSE,
AS IT NOW STANDS IN THE GROUNDS OF THE HON. WM. P. LETCHWORTH, PORTAGE, N. Y.

V.

OLD CANADEA COUNCIL HOUSE

AND

ITS LAST COUNCIL FIRE.

I. THE KEEPERS OF THE DOOR.

Three centuries ago, when the first pioneers of European emigration crossed the ocean to plant their homes in the New World, they found within the borders of what we now call the Empire State an extraordinary confederacy whose hereditary seats stretched from the Hudson to the Genesee. Here the "Five Nations," joined together in a federated government (the ancient League of the Iroquois), held an absolute and undisputed sway; their League remarkable alike for its ties of organization and the wisdom of its unwritten laws, as well as for the sagacity which marked their administration.

Proud and ambitious masters of the art of conquest, the strong arm of the League was felt far and near as their war parties fell upon other, oftentimes distant, tribes and, with the lust of empire, compelled them to subservience. In 1535, when Jacques Cartier first sailed up the St. Lawrence, their ancient enemies at the North had been driven down the river as far as Quebec. In 1607 Captain John Smith saw them on the upper waters of the Chesapeake sweeping down upon the tribes of Powhattan. Far westward upon the Mississippi the Spanish explorers met their warriors, and in 1609

Champlain encountered them as he passed up the lake which now bears his name.

The Dutch, with prudent forethought, made friendship with them when establishing the first trading post at Fort Orange (now Albany) in 1615, and when the Dutch rule yielded to that of England a half century later, this friendship was wisely fostered by the British, who made the Iroquois their allies in that long-continued struggle for the supremacy of a great continent.

They called themselves the Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee, the "People of the Long House," likening their confederacy to the form of their bark dwellings, which were often extended to a length sufficient for ten or even twenty families. Its easterly wardens were the Mohawks at the Hudson, while to the westward burned in succession the council fires of the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and last of all that of the Senecas, the Ho-nan-ne-ho'-ont, the hereditary "Keepers of the door" of the Long House.*

With the Onondagas burned the central fire of the League, and there its general councils were held, when the assembled sachems from all the nations discussed with eloquence and grave dignity affairs of common interest, guarding each canton with jealous care against neighborly aggression, preserving for each its undisputed right of local self-government and by wise counsels securing for all, harmony of purpose for the welfare of the League and united action for its protection.

Of these Five Nations the Senecas were the most powerful and warlike, as they were the most numerous. By 1651 they had conquered the Kah-Kwas or Neutral Nation, who had occupied the territory between the Genesee and the Niagara Rivers, and within five years thereafter had exterminated the Eries, who dwelt still further to the West and South.

At this time their four principal castles or palisaded villages were To-ti-ac-ton, on the Honeoye outlet, near the pres-

*The Tuscaroras, who came in 1715 as refugees from the South, were at that time admitted to the League which was afterward known to the British as "the Six Nations."

ent site of Honeoye Falls; Gan-da-chi-o-ra-gou, near Lima, ten miles to the eastward; Gan-da-ga-ro, in the township of Victor; and Gan-dou-ga-rae, in that of East Bloomfield. In these "castles" the intrepid Jesuit fathers established their missions as early as 1656.

In 1687 all of these villages were destroyed by the French Governor, the Marquis de Denonville, and were abandoned by the Senecas, who gradually drifted southward and westward, finally establishing their homes in what they called the Gen-nis-he'-o, the "beautiful valley" of the river which we still know by their melodious name.

Here and there along its borders for nearly a hundred miles their villages multiplied and prospered. They were tillers of the soil as well as hunters, and summer after summer in these fertile meadows their corn fields blossomed, and autumn after autumn brought its plentiful harvests of maize and beans and pumpkins to be stored for winter's needs. Hiding in the sparkling brooks and the river riffles were abundant supplies of fish which they captured with their rude hooks and spears. From the great forests on either hand the timid deer came down to drink of those clear waters and their somber woodland depths teemed with game to be had for the seeking.

Here they planted their orchards and gathered the wild grapes which fringed their wooded borders, and here, in the midst of their rich fields, they built their long lodges of logs and bark, which in the larger and more important towns were clustered about a central council house. Around its lighted fire the fathers of the people, old sachems and painted chiefs, gathered for grave and eloquent deliberation. Within its rude walls at the stated seasons, they met for those ceremonial festivals peculiar to their worship by which they marked the changes of the year; invoking the Great Spirit at springtime to bless the planting of their seed; rendering up thanksgiving for the berries of the fields, the fresh green corn or the ripened harvest, or ushering in each returning year with their supreme act of piety and devotion, the sacrifice of the white dog, their faithful messenger, whose spirit should carry their words of thanks and praise with their

humble petitions to the listening ear of the great Master of Life.

Here, too, as the years multiplied and generation after generation passed away, the graves of their fathers gave to their beautiful valley the hallowed associations of memory and filial love. It was to them their home, a veritable Garden of Eden, which they loved with an abiding affection that still lingers in the hearts of their scattered descendants, and like the dwellers in Eden of old, they were driven from it by the flaming sword.

They had been faithful brothers to the British, and when the war of the American Revolution began, although the counsels of the Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee were no longer united, and the Oneidas as well as a portion of the Tuscaroras remained neutral, the Senecas took the warpath with their allies and fought with their savage instincts of ferocity.

From Cherry Creek, from Wyoming, and from scores of border settlements to which had come the war-whoop and the scalping-knife, went up the cry of desolation. In August, 1779, General Sullivan with an army of 5,000 men was sent by Washington on his avenging errand. The retribution was, as had been intended, swift and sure and fatal. The beautiful valley of the Genesee was swept with the besom of destruction and town after town of the Senecas was burned to the ground, their crops and stores of grain destroyed, their orchards of peach and apple and pear trees cut down, until the smiling land had become a scene of almost total devastation. From the ruin of their homes the dwellers fled in a confused and panic-stricken rout to the protection of the British at Fort Niagara; and when the war had ceased and the days of peace once more returned, only a remnant of the people came back to rebuild a few of their villages along the Genesee.

In these they lingered for half a century more, while the tides of immigration, attracted by the tales of wondrous fertility which were told by the soldiers of Sullivan's raid, swept around and beyond them; holding the small reservations which they had retained when they sold their wide domain at the Big Tree Treaty of 1797, until in 1826 they parted with

these also, and turning their faces westward to Buffalo Creek and to the lands which they still hold along the Tonawanda, the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny, the last of the "keepers of the door" departed and the beautiful valley of their fathers knew them no more.

To this fair land, which had been their earthly paradise, the bringers of civilization came; and where their rude villages once stood are now populous towns and pleasant villages, centers of traffic for the rich farming communities that thrive upon the fertile fields which they first tilled. To their primitive arts have succeeded those of a more complex life and only here and there in hill or valley, in glen or water-fall there lingers some musical name that whispers of the past and breathes in its melody some accent that suggests those long-forgotten days and "the pathos of a vanished folk."

II. THE OLD COUNCIL HOUSE.

Leaving Can-a-wáu-gus, opposite Avon Springs, the northernmost of the river towns, the ancient Seneca trail, following the river southward, led from village to village, until at Squakie Hill, near Mt. Morris, it reached Dä-yo-it-ga-o ("Where the river issues from the hills"). Thence it passed through the Gardeau flats, the home until 1831 of the famous white captive, Mary Jemison, known to history as "the White Woman of the Genesee"; and approached the cañon through which for many miles the river has cut its way before it emerges into the bright sunlight of the open valley.

It is a wild and picturesque region. From the mighty rock-hewn walls one may look 700 feet down the precipitous cliffs to the somber depths wherein the river winds its way beneath. At the lower falls, where the old trail left the river bed and climbed its banks for the great portage that has given its name to the whole region, the river pours in a resistless torrent through its narrow flume of rock to the treacherous calm of the deep whirlpool far below. Now following the eastern ridge, the trail looked down upon that charmed region about the middle falls, rich in legendary

story and song, with its shaded meadows and sunlit plateaus, its sparkling brooks that leap the cliffs to join the river; richest of all in these latter days in that beautiful home which looks from its open friendly doors upon the fretted lace-work that the river weaves in fleecy whiteness as it plunges downward for a hundred feet and sends up clouds of spray to gather in the sunlight the rainbow hues that give its name to far-famed Glen Iris.

Traces may still be found of the old trail as it wound its way around the upper falls, the river's first great leap at the entrance to the gorge, and crossing the clear, still reaches above, passed on for several miles to Caneadea, an open sylvan glade through which the river ran, shut in on either side by the dense forests and in front by the open sky, where nestled Ga-ó-ya-dé-o ("Where the Heavens rest upon the earth"), the last Seneca "castle" on the Genesee.

It was an ancient village on the very threshold of the Long House, so far distant from the lower river towns and so protected by Nature's almost impenetrable barriers below, that it escaped the vengeance of Sullivan's army which had turned northward from Dä-yo-it-gá-o.

Its twenty or thirty houses stood somewhat back from a high bank that overlooked the stream, and its central feature was the old Caneadea Council House, so fortunately still preserved to tell its story of a far-off past. This was built of well-hewn logs, a foot or more in thickness, neatly dovetailed at the corners, their crevices packed with moss plastered in with clay. In length it measured about fifty feet, by twenty feet in width, and was roofed with "shakes" or large split shingles held in place by long poles fastened at the ends with withes, an opening being left in the center of the roof through which the smoke of the council fire might make its escape. Its eaves were low and at one end was built a rude stone fireplace with three large flat hearth stones taken from the river bed, covering a space ten feet square. There was a door on either side.

Its age we do not know, but Indian traditions ascribe to it a venerable antiquity and it is believed to long antedate the American Revolution. Upon the inner surface of one of the

legs the sign of the cross is deeply carved and another bears the rudely cut totem of the Snipe clan.

About it cluster thickly the memories of long ago; upon its earth floor has been lighted many a famous council fire, and its walls, smoke-begrimed and dark with age, have listened to the glowing words of many a red-skinned orator whose eloquence fired his people to action or perchance calmed the heated passion of debate.

From this last of the Seneca villages went out the great war parties of the Iroquois that followed the Ohio trail to the great river of the Southwest. Here, too, they gathered for the border forays that carried terror to the Pennsylvania frontiers; and here the returning warriors brought their captives to run the gauntlet, to their death it may be, or in rare cases to escape their torturers and to find refuge and safety within the walls of their desperate goal, this ancient council house.

Here, with their scarcely less savage allies, it is believed they gathered as the rallying point before the massacre of Wyoming; and in those ruthless days the old council house had doubtless heard the crafty but not inhumane counsels of Thay-en-da-na-ge-a, the great Mohawk chief whom we know as Joseph Brant, the silver tongue of that most famous of Indian orators, Red Jacket, the wise and compelling utterance of Cornplanter and the speech of Hudson and Young King and Pollard, Little Beard and Tallchief and Halftown and many beside whose very names are now but dim traditions, but who wrought their part and were loved or feared, as the case might be, by their people and by those who knew their power a century or more ago.

Of all the many captives of those bloody years, who ran the gauntlet at Caneadea,—and who may now tell their number!—no story is so well-remembered and so oft-repeated as that of Moses Van Campen, that famous old Indian fighter and pioneer, the hero of so many fireside tales of thrilling border warfare: a Jersey lad, born in 1757, but living in Pennsylvania and in the strength of early manhood when the war of the Revolution began. He was a man of mighty prowess and daring, unacquainted with fear, and had made

his strong arm felt in many a fierce encounter with the painted redskins in the northern wilderness of the Pennsylvania frontier.

Once before he had been captured by an Indian war party and had made his escape after a deadly struggle in which he had slain five of his captors with his own hand and with a tomahawk which he had wrested from their leader, John Mohawk. In March, 1782, he was a lieutenant of the Pennsylvania line in the Continental Army, commanding a company ordered to rebuild a fort at Muncey in Northumberland Co., Pa., which had been destroyed by the Indians in 1779.

While on a scouting expedition with a small force up the west branch of the Susquehanna he was surprised by a war party of Senecas led by Lieutenant Nellis of Butler's Rangers in the British service, and after most of his soldiers had been killed or disabled, Van Campen surrendered and was carried captive to Canadea. Fortunately he had not been recognized or his life would not have been spared.

As they approached the village with echoing war-whoops, old and young came to meet the victorious warriors and preparations for the savage ordeal of running the gauntlet were speedily made. At a distance of thirty or forty rods stood the council house with its open doors and on either side of the running course thereto were lines of men and women armed with hatchets, knives and sticks with which to strike the victim as he ran. There was but slight chance of escape, but as the word came and the captives dashed forward, Van Campen followed and dexterously avoided the many blows aimed at him until he saw directly in his path two young squaws with uplifted whips who blocked the way. With quick thought he gave an unexpected leap into the air, striking both squaws with his feet and sending both to the ground. He fell with them, but before they or the warriors around could recover from their astonishment, he quickly picked himself up and reached the council house unharmed. His life was saved, and having been taken thence to Fort Niagara and finally to Montreal and New York, he was released on parole before the end of the year.

A gentler association is that which the old council house holds with the memory of the white captive, Mary Jemison, "Deh-he-wa-mis," for here in the autumn of 1760, that weary-footed traveler (whose life of scarce eighteen years had already seen such strange vicissitudes, adopted by her captors five years before and married by their wish to an Indian husband), rested with her adoptive brothers, who accompanied her on her long and toilsome journey of nearly 600 miles through an almost pathless wilderness, from the lower Ohio to the Genesee country.

Through all the fatigues and sufferings of those weary miles, thinly clad, without protection from the drenching rains, sleeping at night upon the naked ground, unsheltered and with no covering but her wet blanket, the poor little child-wife and mother—for she was small and delicate—had carried her infant child upon her back or sheltered him within her arms. It sometimes seemed to her, she said, as if the utmost of endurance had been reached, but after resting here she journeyed on to Little Beard's town. The Senecas of the beautiful valley became her people, their country her home, and for more than seventy years the "White Woman of the Genesee" lived among them through many sorrows and many joys until, in that strange fellowship of her adopted kin whom she steadfastly refused to leave, her earthly days were ended.

By whose hand was carved the deeply cut symbol of the Christian faith within those ancient walls we may not know. Its presence would seem to show that in their time they have heard gentle teachings from lips that have told those husky hearers of long ago of the God of Revelation, of Christ the Saviour, of a gospel of love and peace and in their own tongue perhaps made known to them the story of the Cross. Could the old council house but speak of all that it has seen, how filled with riches would be the record of its years!

But times change, and we change with them. The years swept by and the changes of another century than its own crept slowly around the council house. Little by little its old-time friends passed away, and when in 1826 the Senecas sold

the last of their Genesee Valley lands they parted with Caneadea and soon the old council house was left alone and deserted.

Shortly thereafter Joel Seaton, who had purchased the land where it stood, moved it to a new position near the roadside some thirty or forty rods eastward from its old site and used it as a dwelling, making no changes in it, however, except to put on a new roof and to add three or four logs to its height, as was readily to be seen. Slowly it began to decay; it ceased to be used as a dwelling; neglected and forlorn it stood by the roadside, marked only by the curious gaze of the passer-by, until when it was about to be destroyed, shortly after 1870, it came to the notice of Hon. William Pryor Letchworth of Glen Iris, whose deep interest in the historic associations of the Genesee Valley led him to take prompt measures for its rescue and preservation.

With painstaking care he caused each timber to be marked when taken down, so that it might be replaced where it belonged, and effected its removal without injury, to the beautiful plateau overlooking the river and valley at Glen Iris, where it now stands. There it was carefully reërected in precisely the position and the form in which it originally stood, even to the roof of shakes with withe-bound poles and its own old fireplace with the original hearth-stones as in days of yore; the rotting timbers were repaired where this was necessary for its preservation and when all was completed and the venerable structure stood as of old time, the scattered children of those who had been most famous in the history of the Seneca occupation of the Genesee Valley were bidden to the memorable council of October 1, 1872. It was a strange and impressive occasion to those who gathered to hold a council of their people after the lapse of half a century, in the very house where generation after generation of those that slept had gathered before; to them it brought untold memories of pathos and regret. Doubly strange and impressive was it to the fortunate guests of another race who came at the wish of the Guardian of the Valley to witness such an unwonted sight; it dwells within their hearts in unfading recollection.

III. THE LAST COUNCIL FIRE.*

The morning of that perfect day in the beautiful month of falling leaves dawned brightly; early frost had tinged the forests and loosened the leaves that dropped softly in the mellow sunlight. Some of the invited guests had come on the previous day and when the morning train arrived from Buffalo the old King George cannon on the upper plateau thundered its welcome, as once it was wont to wake the echoes from the fortress of Quebec, and all climbed the hill to the spot where the ancient council house stood with open doors to receive them. They were the lookers-on who found their places at one end of the council hall where rustic seats awaited them, save that in a suitable and more dignified chair was seated a former President of the Republic, Hon. Millard Fillmore of Buffalo, whose gracious and kindly presence—that of a snowy-haired gentleman of the old school—honored the occasion.

The holders of the council were “robed and ready.” Upon the clay floor in the center of the building burned the bright council fire, and as the blue smoke curled upward it found its way through the opening in the roof to mingle with the haze of the October day.

Upon low benches around the fire sat the red-skinned children of the Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee who had gathered from the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny and from the Grand River in Canada as well; for on that day, for the first time in more than seventy years, the Mohawks sat in council with the Senecas. They were for the most part clad in such costumes as their fathers wore in the olden days, and many of the buckskin garments, bright sashes and great necklaces of silver or bone and beads, were heirlooms of the past, as were the ancient tomahawk pipes which were gravely smoked while their owners sat in rapt and decorous attention as one after another their orators addressed them. No sight could

*For Mr. Gray's beautiful poem, read at the close of the council, and for the translated Seneca speeches, I am indebted to “The last Indian Council on the Genesee,” by David Gray, in *Scribner's Magazine* for July, 1877. With these exceptions this account is written from notes made by myself at the time of the council.—H. R. H.

be more picturesque than was that combination of bright colors and nodding plumes, the drifting smoke of the council fire, and, most of all, the strong faces of the score or more of councillors, the appointed representatives of their people, to speak for them that day.

They had been wisely chosen, for they were the grandchildren of renowned men and almost all bore the names of those who had been the recognized leaders of their nation in council and in war. As might well be expected, the personality of each was striking and noteworthy.

A commanding presence, that gave an especial interest to the occasion, was that of Col. W. J. Simcoe Kerr, "Te-ka-re-ho-ge-a," the grandson of the famous Mohawk chief, Captain Brant, whose youngest daughter, Elizabeth, had married Colonel Walter Butler Kerr, a grandson of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent for the British Government, whose influence had been so potent with the Iroquois in colonial days. Colonel Kerr was a man of fine physique, an educated gentleman and himself the principal chief of the Mohawks in their Canadian home, as well as the acknowledged head of all the Indians in Canada. He wore the chieftain's dress in which he had been presented to Queen Victoria: a suit of soft, dark, smoke-tanned buckskin with deep fringes, a rich sash, and a cap of doeskin with long straight plumes from an eagle's wing. He carried Brant's tomahawk in his belt. By his side sat his accomplished sister, Mrs. Kate Osborne, whose Mohawk name was Ke-je-jen-ha-nik. Through her gentle-hearted interest in such an unusual event she had urged her brother to accept the invitation which had been tendered him, but he came with some reluctance, for the long-cemented friendship of the great League had been broken.

When the War of the Revolution had ended, the Mohawks left their former seats and followed their British allies to Canada, where they still live on the Grand River. The Senecas remained in Western New York and by the celebrated treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, became the friends of the Americans, a friendship to which they continued steadfast, so that when war with Great Britain was again declared in

1812, they were our allies, and on its battle-fields, side by side with the soldiers of the United States, they fought the Mohawks, their ancient friends, who had now become their enemies. It could not be forgotten, and even when the Mohawk chief had been persuaded to attend the council, he wore an air of coldness and reserve, because, as he said to one of the guests before he tardily took his place, "the Senecas are not my people."

For a short time these children of time-honored sachems and chiefs sat and smoked in dignified silence as became so grave an occasion, and when the proper moment had arrived, as prescribed by the decorum of Indian observance, one of their number arose and, following the ceremonial method of the ancient custom, announced in formal words and in the Seneca tongue, that the council fire had been lighted and that the ears of those who were convened in council were now opened to listen to what might be said to them. Resuming his seat, there was a moment of quiet waiting, as if in expectation, and then the opening speech was made by Nicholson H. Parker, "Ga-yeh-twa-geh," a grand-nephew of Red Jacket and a brother of General Ely S. Parker, who served with distinction upon General Grant's staff during the Civil War.

Mr. Parker was a tall, well-built man, with a fine clear face not unlike that of his distinguished brother, and with great dignity of speech and bearing. Around his sleeves above the elbows and at the wrists were wide bands of beaded embroidery, and besides a long fringed woven belt of bright colors, he wore an ample shoulder scarf that was also richly embroidered. His tomahawk pipe was one that had belonged to Red Jacket. Mr. Parker was a well educated man, had served as United States interpreter with his people and was a recognized leader among them.

All of the speeches made in the council that day, until it approached its close, were in the Seneca language, which is without labials, very guttural and yet with a music of its own, capable of much inflection and by no means monotonous. Its sentences seemed short and their utterance slow and measured, with many evidences of the earnest feeling

aroused by the unwonted occasion and its associations with the past, and as each speaker in turn touched some responsive chord in the breasts of his hearers, they responded with that deep guttural ejaculation of approval which cannot be written in any syllable of English phrasing.

Many of the orators spoke at great length, and it is unfortunate that the full texts could not be preserved. Such portions as we have of three or four of the principal speeches were taken down after the council from the lips of the speakers themselves; they are, however, but brief epitomes of their full orations. Such was the case, for example, in this opening speech of Nicholson Parker, who thus addressed the council:

"Brothers: I will first say a few words. We have come as representatives of the Seneca nation to participate in the ceremonies of the day. In this ancient council-house, before its removal to this spot, our fathers, sachems and chiefs, often met to deliberate on matters of moment to our people in the village of Ga-o-yah-de-o (Caneadea). We are to rake over the ashes on its hearth, that we may find perchance a single spark with which to rekindle the fire, and cause the smoke again to rise above this roof, as in days that are past. The smoke is curling upward and the memories of the past are enwreathed with it.

"Brothers: When the confederacy of the Iroquois was formed, a smoke was raised which ascended so high that all the nations saw it and trembled. This league was formed, it may be, long before the kingdom of Great Britain had any political existence. Our fathers of the Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee were once a powerful nation. They lorded it over a vast territory, comprising the whole of the State of New York. Their power was felt from the Hudson to the banks of the Mississippi, and from the great basins of sweet water in the North to the bitter waters of the Mexican Gulf. We have wasted away to a remnant of what we once were. But, though feeble in numbers, the Iroquois are represented here. We have delegates from the Mohawks, who were the keepers of the eastern door of the long house; and of the Senecas, who were the guardians of the western door. When the big

guns of General Sullivan were heard in this valley, we were one people. But the tribes of the Iroquois are scattered, and will soon be seen no more.

"Brothers: We are holding council, perhaps for the last time, in Gen-nis-he'-o. This beautiful territory was once our own. The bones of our fathers are strewn thickly under its sod. But all this land has gone from their grasp forever. The fate and the sorrows of my people should force a sigh from the stoutest heart.

"Brothers: We came here to perform a ceremony, but I cannot make it such. My heart says that this is not a play or a pageant. It is a solemn reality to me, and not a mockery of days that are past and can never return. Neh-hoh—this is all."

As he took his seat, the repeated monosyllabic utterance of his hearers showed that he had spoken well and had opened and smoothed the way for those who should follow. All were eager to say what was in their hearts, but there was a quiet dignity in their procedure which might well be copied by Anglo-Saxon conclaves. There was no presiding member in the sense in which we know the term. It was the office and apparently the duty of Nicholson Parker to open and to close the council, and in all formal procedures, as in the common habit of their life and speech, the Indian shows a respect and reverence for age which is worthy of high praise.

When each orator had spoken, there was a short pause of silence, a little smoking of pipes as if in seemly expectation, and then another orator rose quietly in his place and with gentle manner and low speech and with occasional graceful gesticulations that pointed his statements, sometimes holding his tomahawk pipe in his hand and using it to excellent effect in his gestures (for Nature made the red man an orator,) he addressed his listening brothers. Nearly all of the men in council spoke during its session, some at length, some more briefly, as the message chanced to be. The thought of their fathers was uppermost in their minds and the deeds of their fathers in the old days was the burden of their utterance.

That great orator of the Senecas, Red Jacket, "Sa-go-ye-

wát-ha" ("He keeps them awake") was represented at this council not only by Nicholson Parker, who made the opening speech, but also by his grandson, John Jacket, "Sho-gyo-a-ja-ach," an elderly man and a full-blooded Seneca, as his strong, dark face betokened, with feathered head-dress and broad-beaded shoulder sash, who was one of the later speakers. He died in 1901 on the Cattaraugus reservation.

Beside him at the council fire sat George Jones, "Ga-o-dowa-neh," in all the glory of full Indian costume with waving plumes and beaded leggings, bright shoulder sash and belt girding his light hunting shirt; the grandson of "Tommy Jemmy," who was tried for murder in 1821, for putting to death an aged beldam whom his people had found guilty of witchcraft and according to their custom had sentenced to death. His acquittal undoubtedly resulted from the efforts of Red Jacket, who appeared as his advocate at the trial, where he thundered his famous phillipic against those who accused his people of superstition. "What!" said he, "do you denounce us as fools and bigots because we still believe that which you yourselves believed two centuries ago? Your black-coats thundered this doctrine from the pulpit, your judges pronounced it from the bench and sanctioned it with the formalities of law; and you would now punish our unfortunate brother for adhering to the faith of his fathers and of yours. Go to Salem! Look at the records of your own Government, and you will find that hundreds have been executed for the crime which has called forth the sentence of condemnation against this woman and drawn down upon her the arm of vengeance. What have our brothers done more than the rulers of your people? And what crime has this man committed, by executing, in a summary way, the laws of his country, and the command of the Great Spirit?" It was a fitting and noteworthy circumstance that the grandsons of Red Jacket and Tommy Jemmy should sit side by side at the Glen Iris council-fire.

Two grandsons of Del-he-wa-mis, the famous "White Woman," sat in the council that day. One, known as "Doctor" James Shongo, "Ha-go-go-ant," from the Allegheny reservation, a stalwart man of fifty-three years, was the

youngest son among her daughter Polly's five children. His father, George Shongo, was the son of that "Colonel" Shongo who was in Revolutionary times a prominent chief of the Senecas at Canadea; a man of commanding stature and mighty voice, a fierce warrior, who is believed by some to have led the Senecas at the Wyoming massacre. James Shongo was a lad eleven years old when his grandmother, the "White Woman," removed from her old home at Gardau to Buffalo in the spring of 1831; and when he spoke he told the story of that journey in which he walked all the way, a foot-sore boy, who helped to drive the cattle and to minister in his small way to the wants of his mother and of his aged, feeble, grand-dame.

The other grandson was Thomas Jemison, "Shoh-son-dowant," old "Buffalo Tom," as he was familiarly called; an old man, esteemed by all who knew him and respected as one of the worthiest of men. He was the firstborn grandchild of the "White Woman," born at Squakie Hill, and was the son of the little babe whom she carried on her back in that weary journey from the Ohio to the Genesee. All the virtues of his gentle grandmother had found place in his character and had made him throughout his long life an example to his people of industry, truthfulness and thrift. Of stalwart frame, more than six feet in height, with broad, manly shoulders, only his earnest, wrinkled face and snowy hair told of his nearly eighty years when he arose to address the council. In part his words were these:

"Brothers: I am an old man, and well remember when our people lived in this valley. I was born in a wigwam on the banks of this river. I well remember my grandmother, 'The White Woman,' of whom you have all heard. I remember when our people were rich in lands and respected by the whites. Our fathers knew not the value of these lands, and parted with them for a trifle. The craft of the white man prevailed over their ignorance and simplicity. We have lost a rich inheritance; but it is vain to regret the past. Let us make the most of what little is left to us.

"The last speaker spoke of the former power of our people. They used to live in long bark houses, divided into dif-

ferent compartments, and giving shelter often to five or six families. These families were frequently connected by ties of blood. When the confederacy was formed, which the French called the Iroquois and the English the Five Nations, our New York Indians called themselves Ho-dé-no-sáu-nee, or People of the Long House. It was the duty of the Mohawks to guard the eastern door against the approach of enemies, and the Senecas were to guard the west. The principal sachem of the Senecas is entitled Don-c-ho-ga-wa, the door-keeper. Between these two nations sat the Oneidas, Onondagas and Cayugas, making the Five Nations. After their expulsion from North Carolina, our brothers, the Tuscaroras knocked at the door of the Long House and we gave them shelter. We adopted them as one of our family and thenceforward were known as the Six Nations.

"I regret that our fathers should have given away their country, acre by acre, and left us in our present state, but they did it in their ignorance. They knew not the value of the soil, and little imagined that the white people would cover the land as thickly as the trees from ocean to ocean.

"Brothers: These are painful thoughts. It is painful to think that in the course of two generations there will not be an Iroquois of unmixed blood within the bounds of our State; that our race is doomed, and that our language and history will soon perish from the thoughts of men. But it is the will of the Great Spirit and doubtless it is well."

Among those of noteworthy parentage who took part in the council were William and Jesse Tallchief, "Sha-wa-o-nee-gah," whose grandfather, "Tall Chief," lived at Murray Hill near Mt. Morris, and was well known to the early pioneers. He is remembered as a wise counsellor of his nation and had in his day dined with Washington and smoked the pipe of peace with the great President.

Another, William Blacksnake, "Sho-noh-go-waah," was a grandson of old "Governor" Blacksnake, whose title was bestowed upon him by the father of our country. More than any other of the Senecas did Governor Blacksnake's length of days link us with the past, for he lived until 1859 and reached the great age of 117 years. He was a boy of thirteen



SOLOMON O'BAIL,

SON OF MAJOR O'BAIL AND GRANDSON OF THE FAMOUS CHIEF JOHN O'BAIL, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS CORNPLANTER.

at the capture of Fort Duquesne, which he remembered well. With others who were also present were Maris B. Pierce, "Ha-dya-no-doh," a man of fine address and education, in his early years a graduate of Dartmouth College; and John Shanks, "Noh-Sah," an aged man who spoke the first words of formal announcement; whose memory ran back to the time when he as a boy had lived with his people on the Caneadea Reservation before the title to its 10,000 acres had passed away from their hands.

Most picturesque of all who lingered around that dying council fire was the figure of old Solomon O'Bail, "Ho-way-no-ah," the grandson of that wisest of Seneca chiefs, John O'Bail, "Ga-yant-hwah-geh," better known as "Corn-planter." His strong, rugged face, deeply seamed with the furrows of advancing age, was typical of his race and of his ancestry and was expressive of a remarkable character. His dress was of smoke-tanned buckskin with side fringes and all a-down his leggings were fastened little hawk-bells, which tinkled as he walked. Shoulder sash and belt were embroidered with old-time bead work and around his arm above the elbows were broad bands or armlets of silver. From his ears hung large silver pendants and, strangest of all his decorations, deftly wrought long ago by some aboriginal silver-smith, was a large silver nose-piece that almost hid his upper lip. His head-dress was an heirloom made of wild turkey feathers fastened to the cap with such cunning skill that they turned and twinkled with every movement of his body.

He had been an attentive listener to all who had spoken, and as the memories of the past were awakened, the significance of the occasion filled his heart and the expression of his honest face showed that he was deeply moved. Especially significant to him was the presence at this council fire of the Mohawk chief, Colonel Kerr, and the burden of his soul was that the broken friendship of the League should once more be restored. His speech was the most dramatic incident of the day. Rising gravely in his place he said:

"Brothers: I will also say a few words. In olden times, on occasions of this kind, after lighting the council-fire, our fathers would first congratulate each other on their safe ar-

rival and their escape from all the perils of the journey from their widely separated homes to the scene of the council. In the Ga-no-nyok (speech of welcome) the orator would wipe the sweat from the brows of the guests and pluck the thorns from their moccasins. Next, and most important, thanks would be offered to the Great Spirit for their preservation and safety. Imitating the example of our fathers, while we felicitate ourselves on our safe arrival here and our presence on this occasion, we, too, give thanks to the Good Spirit who has kept us until this moment.

"Brothers: It is true, as has been said by the speakers who preceded me, that our fathers formed and established a mighty nation. The confederacy of the Iroquois was a power felt in the remotest regions of this continent before the advent of the pale-face, and long after the white men came and began to grow numerous and powerful, the friendship of the Iroquois was courted as Dutch and English and French struggled for the contest. They poured out their blood like water for the English, and the French were driven from this great island. Our fathers loved their nation and were proud of its renown. But both have passed away forever. Follow the sun in its course from the Hudson to the Niagara, and you will see the pale faces as thick as leaves in the wood, but only here and there a solitary Iroquois.

"Brothers: When the War of the Revolution was ended, our Great Father, General Washington, said that he would forget that we had been enemies, and would allow us to repossess the country we had so long called our own. Our brothers the Mohawks chose, however, to cast their lot with the British, and followed the flag of that people to the Grand River, in Canada, where they have ever since sat under its folds. In the last war with England the Mohawks met us as foes on the war-path. For seventy-five years their place has been vacant at our council-fires. They left us when we were strong, a nation of warriors, and they left us in anger.

"Brothers: We are now poor and weak. There are none who fear us or court our influence. We are reduced to a handful, and have scarce a place to spread our blankets in the vast territory owned by our fathers. But in our poverty

and desolation our long-estranged brothers, the Mohawks, have come back to us. The vacant seats are filled again, although the council-fire of our nation is little more than a heap of ashes. Let us stir its dying embers, that by their light, we may see the faces of our brothers once more.

"Brothers: My heart is gladdened by seeing a grandson of that great chief Thay-en-dan-ega-ga-onh (Captain Brant) at our council-fire. His grandfather often met our fathers in council when the Six Nations were one people and were happy and strong. In grateful remembrance of that nation and that great warrior, and in token of buried enmity, I will extend my hand to our Mohawk brother. May he feel that he is our brother, and that we are brethren."

The Indian character is reticent and hides the outward evidence of deep feeling as unmanly, but as the aged man spoke, the tears rolled down his furrowed cheeks and as he turned and held out his beseeching, friendly hand to the haughty Mohawk, strong ejaculations of approval broke from the lips of all his dusky brethren. With visible emotion Colonel Kerr arose and warmly grasped the outstretched palm.

"My brother," said he, "I am glad to take your hand once more held out in the clasp of friendship; the Senecas and the Mohawks now are both my people."

"My brother," said O'Bail, "may the remembrance of this day never fade from our minds or from the hearts of our descendants."

As speaker after speaker had addressed the council, the hours slipped swiftly by and only the embers of the fire still glowed when, at a pause towards the close, there came a surprise for all who were present, as one of the pale-faced guests quietly arose, and stepping to the charmed circle of red-skinned orators, spoke to them in their own tongue. It was the tall figure of Orlando Allen of Buffalo, then in his seventieth year, who addressed the council. As a boy of sixteen years he had come to Buffalo to live with Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, while it was still a rude hamlet, encircled with forests, which were the hunting grounds of the Senecas, who were then still living on the Buffalo Creek and its tributary

streams. He had learned their speech and had known their fathers face to face and now he spoke first in their own language to these, their children. He addressed the council in Seneca as follows:

"Brothers: I also will say a few words and would be glad if I might speak to you as once I could in your own tongue, so as to make my words clear to your understanding.

"Brothers: This valley of the Genesee where your fathers once ruled is filled with remembrances of old days and we are gathered here to revive those memories. This is of great importance, as is the preservation of this old council house which your fathers parted with when they gave up their lands, but which has once more been restored.

"Brothers: The words for my thoughts come more slowly in your speech than in former days when I knew it well, so I will speak now in my own language. Neh-hoh,—that is all."

An outburst of ejaculations testified to the pleased surprise and gratification of his Indian auditors; then, turning to the group of pale-faces beyond the circle, he spoke in English at considerable length in interesting reminiscence of the past. He had known Red Jacket, Cornplanter, Young King, Captain Pollard, Destroytown, Blacksnake, Little Billy, Shongo and many besides, and related many incidents connected with these celebrated characters, as he had heard them from their own lips. In his youth it was the custom each year in the month of June for the Indians to gather in large numbers at Buffalo to receive their annuities through the hands of Captain Jasper Parrish, the United States sub-agent, and Captain Horatio Jones, the Government interpreter. Both had been Indian captives and perhaps no incident that he related was more interesting to his hearers than the story of how the latter ran the gauntlet at this old Council House at Caneadea.

When he was about fourteen years old Horatio Jones was captured by a Seneca war-party in the neighborhood of his father's home in Bedford County, Pa. As he ran to escape his captors, one of whom was calling him to "stop," he stumbled and fell, but to his surprise, instead of receiving the ex-

pected blow of a tomahawk, the warrior who had pursued him picked him up kindly and throwing a string of beads about his neck carried him off, a captive. On the long journey that followed he was kindly treated and finally reached the Genesee River at Caneadea, where he was told that he must run the gauntlet with his fellow-prisoners. They forded the stream and saw before them the old council house on which a white flag was flying—the goal of safety—which they must reach through the long parallel lines of men, women and children armed as usual with tomahawks, clubs and whips for their exulting and cruel pleasure.

His captor held him back until all the other prisoners had started, and then giving him a push said to him, "Now run like the devil," and he did, by his agility escaping the blows aimed at him until the council house was nearly reached. Just then he saw a prisoner directly in front of him struck down by a savage blow from a tomahawk, and in the extremity of terror he sprang through an opening in the lines and flying down a woodland path sought to make his escape. As he passed a lodge in which two old squaws were sitting, one of these jumped to her feet and seizing him, dragged him in, pushed him under a rude bunk or bed and threw some garments or skins over him. Almost immediately he heard the voices of his pursuers loudly questioning the women and hurrying on, misled by their replies. When they had vanished the squaws took him from his concealment and hiding him with their blankets between them, brought him safely to the council house, where he learned, to his pleased surprise, that one of them would be his adoptive mother. She had lost a son in some wild foray and had commissioned one of the warriors to bring her a white lad whom she might adopt in his place. It was her string of beads which had been thrown about the boy's neck when he had been captured, and by it she had recognized him as he fled past her door. He was treated kindly and lived many years among the Senecas, becoming much attached to them and to their rude life. They made him their interpreter and he was able to render many acts of kindness to other white captives less fortunate than himself.

A characteristic incident was that related by Mr. Allen regarding Cornplanter, whose grandson sat before him. The aged chief was a man moulded for greatness, whose influence and whose word were potent with his people. Upon one occasion, at the annual council at Buffalo Creek when Cornplanter was present, a vigorous discussion arose as to the repayment to a white creditor of \$500 which he had loaned the Senecas to defray the expenses of a delegation sent by them to Washington. Some of those present argued that a portion of this money had been used to pay the charges of an Oneida who had accompanied the delegation, and that therefore the Senecas should not repay the full amount. The trader very justly claimed that he had loaned the money to the Senecas, who had pledged themselves for its repayment and that he could not be responsible for the way in which they had spent it. In those days the annuities were paid in silver dollars and half-dollars and the sum had been counted out and lay upon a small table in the council house. The discussion waxed warm and it began to look as if the trader might lose a portion of his loan, when old Cornplanter, who had been sitting in silence, arose and asked the trader the amount of his claim. Pointing to the money on the table, he said, "Is that the correct amount, interest and all?" Upon being answered that it was, he took the trader's hat and sweeping into it the pile of coin from the table, handed it to the claimant, then turning to the council, said, "The debt is paid; my name is Cornplanter," and quietly resumed his seat.

When Mr. Allen had ended his interesting address, President Fillmore with a few kindly words, presented, on behalf of Mr. Letchworth, a specially prepared silver medal to each of those who had taken part in the council. As old Buffalo Tom came forward when his name was called, he thrust his hand into his bosom and brought forth a very large silver medal which was suspended from his neck. "Perhaps," said he, "I ought not to have one; I have got one already which old General Jackson gave me." He was assured that he was entitled to both, and now his children treasure them as heir-looms.

This ceremony ended, Nicholson Parker, who made the

opening speech, arose and in a few words, gravely and softly spoken in his native tongue, formally closed the council. Then turning to the white guests, whom he addressed as his "younger brothers," he spoke the farewell words.

"We have gathered in council here to-day," said he, "the representatives of the Mohawks, who guarded the easterly door of the Long House, and of the Senecas, who kept its western gate. It has been to us an occasion of solemn interest, and as one after another of my brothers has spoken around the council fire that we have lighted, we have rehearsed the deeds of our fathers who once dwelt in this beautiful valley, and in the smoke of that council fire our words have been carried upward. Our fathers, the Iroquois, were a proud people, who thought that none might subdue them; your fathers when they crossed the ocean were but a feeble folk, but you have grown in strength and greatness, while we have faded to but a weak remnant of what we once were. The Ho-de'-no-sáu-nee, the people of the Long House, are scattered hither and yon; their league no longer exists, and you who are sitting here to-day have seen the last of the confederated Iroquois. We have raked the ashes over our fire and have closed the last council of our people in the valley of our fathers."

As he ended his voice faltered with an emotion which was shared by all present. He had spoken the last words for his people, fraught with a tender pathos that touched the hearts of those that heard him with a feeling of that human brotherhood in which "whatever may be our color or our gifts" we are all alike kin.

For a few moments there was a becoming silence and then David Gray—name beloved of all who knew him—the poet-editor of the *Buffalo Courier*, rose and read

THE LAST INDIAN COUNCIL ON THE GENESEE.

The fire sinks low, the drifting smoke
Dies softly in the autumn haze,
And silent are the tongues that spoke
In speech of other days.

Gone, too, the dusky ghosts whose feet
But now yon listening thicket stirred;
Unscared within its covert meet
The squirrel and the bird.

The story of the past is told,
But thou, O Valley, sweet and lone!
Glen of the Rainbow! thou shalt hold
Its romance as thine own.
Thoughts of thine ancient forest prime
Shall sometimes tinge thy summer dreams,
And shape to low poetic rhyme
The music of thy streams.

When Indian summer flings her cloak
Of brooding azure on the woods,
The pathos of a vanished folk
Shall haunt thy solitudes.
The blue smoke of their fires once more
Far o'er the hills shall seem to rise,
And sunset's golden clouds restore
The red man's paradise.

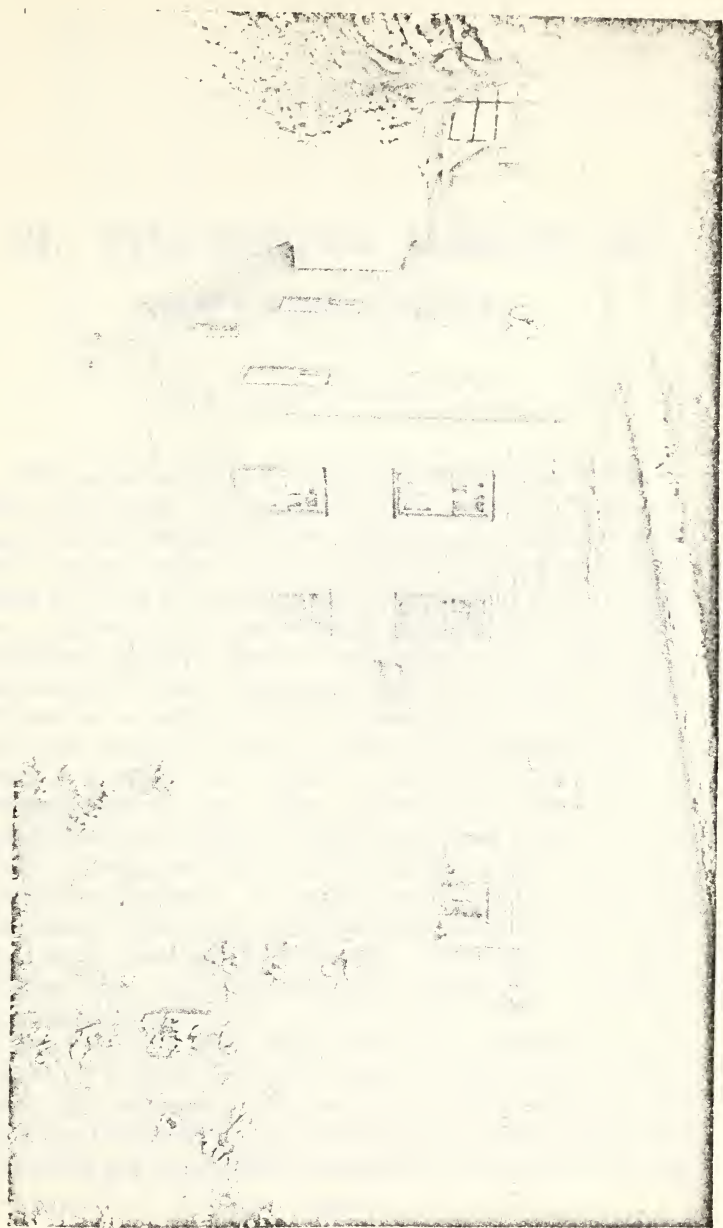
Strange sounds of a forgotten tongue
Shall cling to many a crag and cave,
In wash of falling waters sung,
Or murmur of the wave.
And oft in midmost hush of night,
Shrill o'er the deep-mouthed cataract's roar,
Shall ring the war-cry from the height
That woke the wilds of yore.

Sweet Vale, more peaceful bend thy skies,
Thy airs be fraught with rarer balm:
A people's busy tumult lies
Hushed in thy sylvan calm.
Deep be thy peace! while fancy frames
Soft idyls of thy dwellers fled,—
They loved thee, called thee gentle names,
In the long summers dead.

Quenched is the fire: the drifting smoke
Has vanished in the autumn haze:
Gone, too, O Vale, the simple folk
Who loved thee in old days.

But, for their sakes—their lives serene—
Their loves, perchance as sweet as ours—
O, be thy woods for aye more green,
And fairer bloom thy flowers!

It was the fitting close to a memorable day. The “dappled shadows of the afternoon” rested on hill and valley as one by one the picturesque figures of those who had that day so strangely linked the present with the past, left the old council house, bright colors and feathery plumes mingling with the autumn foliage and the softly dropping leaves until all had vanished. The “story of the past” had once for all been told, but around those ancient, weather-beaten walls, which had once more welcomed the children of those whom it had known long ago in the days of its prime, there lingers still the remembrance of their last council fire—a memory that cannot be forgotten.



THE SENECA MISSION HOUSE, BUILT 1833, STILL STANDING ON BUFFAM STREET, SOUTH BUFFALO.

VI. THE SENECA MISSION AT BUFFALO CREEK.

The earliest attempt to evangelize the Indians in this vicinity came after the permanent establishment of their villages on the Niagara frontier following the devastation of their Genesee valley towns by Sullivan's expedition in 1779, when they fled to the protection of the British at Fort Niagara. At the close of the succeeding winter they made their settlements near that Fort and at Buffalo Creek. In the year 1800 the New York Missionary Society sent Rev. Elkanah Holmes as missionary to the Tuscaroras and Senecas, and from the report presented at their annual meeting April 5, 1802, it appears that at first he made his headquarters at Niagara and in April, 1801, visited New York with proposals from the Indians to build two school houses: one at Buffalo Creek, the other at the Tuscarora village about four miles from Lewiston. It would appear from this report that the Senecas prior to this time had been suspicious of designs upon their lands and had rejected a missionary "sent from Boston," but that they were now eager for a missionary teacher, and while on this visit to New York Mr. Holmes received about \$190 toward the establishment of a school at Buffalo Creek, so that the attempt was actually made upon his return. The report states that "Shortly after his arrival at Buffalo, most of the timber for the school-house was hewn and immediately on opening a subscription among

the inhabitants \$300 was raised. Owing, however, to sickness they had not been able to finish this building, but the school had been taught by Mr. Palmer (Joseph R. Palmer?) till the beginning of last winter (1801-2), when it was thought proper to suspend till spring."

The Society's annual report of April 3, 1803, states that "We have not learned with certainty that a school has been set up among the Senecas, nor that the two school-houses, one for the Senecas and another for the Tuscaroras, for which the Legislature of the State appropriated \$1,500, have been erected." At this time Mr. Holmes' engagement was confirmed as permanent missionary at a salary of \$500, including traveling and incidental expenses, commuted at \$125, his commission embracing the Senecas and Tuscaroras as "his peculiar and stated charge from which he is never to be away more than six months in any one year."

For several years no mention is made of the Senecas on the Buffalo Creek. Mr. Holmes lived at the Tuscarora village, probably making occasional visits to his other charges until differences finally arose between the New York Society and its representative. He opposed the suggestion of forming a church organization among the Tuscaroras, on the ground that the Indians were not ready for it; an agent was sent to investigate, who reported that Mr. Holmes' views were at variance with those of the Society's management, as he gave evidence "of pædo-baptist leanings." This resulted in his resignation in 1807 or 1808, after which he was employed by the Baptists as an itinerant preacher. In 1809 Rev. Andrew Gray succeeded him as missionary to the Tuscaroras, and Rev. J. C. Crane "of New Jersey" was sent to that village as a teacher at a salary of \$200 per annum, "with the hope of an augmentation." He afterwards succeeded to the charge of that mission, where he remained in faithful service until his death in January, 1826.

In 1811 the Society sent Rev. John Alexander as a missionary to the Senecas at Buffalo Creek, but after meeting with the chiefs in council he found them still suspicious that some attempt was on foot to gain possession of their lands, and they refused to receive him. It appears that some years

before they had been visited by a Rev. Mr. Cram, a missionary from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, whom they had rejected,—doubtless the missionary referred to in the annual report of the New York Missionary Society for 1802,—and their attitude was still one of profound distrust. Mr. Alexander remained and preached in Buffalo for a few months, but some misunderstanding arose about his compensation and he soon returned to New York.

With him the Society had sent Jabez Backus Hyde as a teacher, and although the chiefs had refused to receive the missionary, some of them desired instruction for their children, and Mr. Hyde was invited to remain and establish a school. To this he consented and thus began a work of usefulness which he continued with marked success for nearly ten years, preparing the way for those later efforts, which finally resulted in establishing a permanent mission at the Buffalo Creek.

As early as 1798 the Society of Friends in the City of Philadelphia had sent some of their number to the Indians on the Alleghany, where they had been kindly received, bending their efforts more especially towards the ways of civilization, instructing their charges in agriculture and the simpler useful crafts that should ameliorate their condition and make them more self-helpful, extending these self-sacrificing endeavors at a little later day to those upon the Cattaraugus Reservation.

At this time the greater part of the Indians in Western New York, more than 2,000 in number, were settled in three or four villages on the Buffalo Creek Reservation, along the banks of Buffalo Creek and its branches and of Cazenovia Creek, four or five miles east of the village of Buffalo. The most central of these and the nearest to Buffalo was called Seneca village and was clustered near the council house, which stood about twenty rods from Buffalo Creek on its northwest bank, at a point now marked by the angle between Archer street and Seneca street, near the present street-car barn. Near by lived Seneca White and other well-known Indians, and their straggling cabins were scattered to the eastward on both sides of the Aurora road for a distance of a

mile or more. About four or five miles southeastward, in the vicinity of what is now called Lower Ebenezer, was the Onondaga "castle" or village, where Col. Thomas Proctor found twenty-eight "good cabins" at the time of the council of 1791. Here, too, was their council house, which stood on the southern bank of Cazenovia Creek. Some five or six miles northward from the Seneca village was the largest of these Indian villages, called Jack Berry's town, or more commonly Jackstown, which was a stronghold of the Pagan party, as was also a smaller cluster of cabins northeastward from Seneca, called Turkeytown.*

It is difficult to determine just where Mr. Hyde located his school, but it would seem to have been in the immediate vicinity of the council house of Seneca village. There is in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society a manuscript "Account of the Seneca Indians and Mission," written by Mr. Hyde, and dated August 8, 1820, from which we learn something of the many difficulties and trials which beset his endeavor. His position had been a subordinate one and, so far from having derived any advantage from having accompanied the proffered missionary, the prejudices excited by Mr. Alexander became a serious embarrassment to his own introduction. After waiting some seven months he opened his school, and at the annual meeting of the Society, April 7, 1812, it was reported that "his conduct has been prudent and upright and he has succeeded in erecting a school house near the center of the Seneca settlement, where he now resides." Not only prudent and upright in his conduct, he was deeply conscientious in his devotion to duty, and there is something pathetic in the story of his brave struggle against constant discouragement. He says: "The war took place the next summer (1812), which threw everything into confusion on the frontier. Several times the school was interrupted, a

*My information as to these localities comes from Mrs. Martha E. Parker, who lived with her aunt, Mrs. Asher Wright, at the mission from 1836; and from Benjamin C. VanDuzee, the printer for the mission, who began his work there in 1841. Their recollection has been confirmed by MS. notes left by the late Orlando Allen. Mrs. Parker is now living (1903) at the Cattaraugus Reservation and Mr. Van Duzee resides at Hamburg. Both are well past eighty years of age.

few scholars attended, but were very irregular. After the war the school revived for a short time, but soon diminished, none of the first scholars persevered. During the six years that I professed to act as a school teacher, I had several sets of new scholars, and not one of them made proficiency that promised to be of any use to them. My heart was deeply affected at the prospect which forbid the hope that anything would ever be effected in this way."

From year to year he persevered despite all disappointments. Although commissioned by the Society only as a teacher, the thought of evangelizing the Indians took even a deeper hold upon him and shaped his course. Oftentimes he was ridiculed by those who thought such efforts as his own were but wasted with such a stolid people, but this stimulated him to renewed endeavor and "a full determination that the enemy would not always triumph." Of these earlier years he gives no record, but it is evident that the chiefs were not willing to receive other permanent workers than himself, although he had won their confidence and respect. He says: "The summer of 1817 Mr. Butrick lived with me I indulged the hope that his meek and affectionate manner would interest the Indians in his favour and influence them to listen to his instruction, but they stood aloof from him, and when I pressed them to attend to his instructions, they answered they would not have a minister stay among them."

In that year he received a visit from Rev. Timothy Alden, a missionary licensed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, whose published letters give us occasional glimpses of those early days of the Seneca Mission:* "On Tuesday evening the 20th of August, 1817, we arrived at the Mission House occupied by Jabez Backus Hyde, who has had the care of the Indian School for five years in the Seneca village of Buffalo Creek, four miles from its entrance into the Lake. From all the intelligence I had been able to collect I had very little expectation of preaching to this part of the tribe, from the circumstance that my predecessors, the Rev. Messrs.

*"Account of sundry Missions performed among the Senecas and Munsees in a Series of Letters with an Appendix, by Rev. Timothy Alden, President of Allegheny College, New York. Printed by J. Scymour, 1827."

Cram and Alexander, some years ago, after a formal introduction to the chiefs in council, could have no permission to address the Indians on the subject of the Christian Religion. My reception, however, was far more favorable than I had anticipated. On Wednesday, in company with Mr. Hyde, we called on some of the natives, and particularly on King (Young King) and Pollard, two influential chiefs. The business of my mission was made known to them and they were pleased to express their approbation of the object. Pollard said that he was glad I had informed the chiefs of my wishes that they might have the opportunity to communicate them to their people. King and Pollard promised to give notice of the meeting which they preferred to have on the Sabbath, and Jacob Jamieson was engaged to interpret on the occasion. He had lately returned from Dartmouth College, where for about two years he had been a student, and is considered as one of the best interpreters to be found among the Senecas. At the time appointed we met at the school house in Seneca, as the village of Buffalo Creek is sometimes called, which was crowded with the tawney inhabitants, while a considerable portion stood without at the doors and windows. Ten chiefs were present, of whom one was the celebrated Sogweewautan, who is extensively known by the name of Red Jacket. Of the shrewd remarks which this famous orator has frequently made to missionaries with reference to ministers of the Gospel you have doubtless been apprised. As I did not call on him on the previous Wednesday it occurred to me that he might have thought himself neglected. It was grateful to me to learn that when Pollard informed him of my arrival and of my wish to preach to the Indians he expressed his unqualified approbation of the steps taken for my accommodation and offered nothing in the way of objections, as he had formerly done to those who had preceded me. . . . The Indians are much attached to Mr. Hyde and his family, who have been of no small advantage to them by precept and example. The school, consisting of about thirty boys, is in as prosperous a state as could reasonably be expected, yet the indefatigable instructor is greatly disheartened at the tardy progress of his pupils. Mr. Hyde

has written a series of discourses involving in plain and intelligible language suited to the capacity of the natives, the leading historical and doctrinal parts of the Bible, a number of which he has delivered with the assistance of an interpreter to the Indians and much to their edification."

A year later, August 28, 1818, Mr. Alden wrote: "On the 14th of July we arrived at Mr. Hyde's habitation in the first village of the Buffalo Indians and repaired to the cabin of Captain Billy, one of the aged chiefs, and stated to him my wish to preach to his people. We agreed on the following Sabbath for addressing the Indians of this place and Captain Billy promised to see them informed of the meeting. . . . On the Sabbath, the 19th of July [1818], we met the Indians at Seneca agreeably to appointment. Billy, Pollard, Young King, Twenty Canoes and other chiefs were present. Red Jacket and several more were at Tonnewanta. Of Indians and squaws from all parts of the Buffalo reservation there was a larger collection than when I visited them last autumn. There were many more than could be accommodated in the Council House where we assembled together. I had an able interpreter in Thomas Armstrong, who, like Hank Johnson, was taken in infancy, adopted and brought up as a member of the tribe. After singing, Mr. Hyde read the Lord's Prayer in Seneca, which he had recently translated. This was the first time these Indians had heard it in their native tongue, as previously stated to them that their friend and teacher would repeat to them in their language the prayer which was taught us by Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world. . . . Mr. Hyde has resigned the charge of the school which he had under his care for five years. He thought it would be advantageous to the Indians to suspend it for a season. They now begin to express their desire for its re-commencement. At the present time Mr. Hyde is busily employed in acquiring the Seneca, gradually preparing a Grammar of the dialect and translating into it the Gospel according to the Evangelist John. In this important labor he is assisted by Thomas Armstrong, with whom he was providentially brought to an acquaintance when greatly needed, but not knowing where to find one so competent.

Mr. Hyde has the confidence of those with whom he resides more than any other man." Regarding this, Mr. Hyde says: "At this time I was translating the third chapter of John, and as it was my first attempt I proceeded very cautiously. Every opportunity an Indian of intelligence called on me I read my translation to ascertain whether it was correct."

It was probably about this time (1817-18) that Mr. Hyde was designated by the Society as a catechist and his labors were devoted even more strenuously to the spiritual enlightenment of the Indians among whom in the spring and summer of 1818 more interest seemed to be awakened in religious matters. He tells us: "The 16th of August five young men of the best families among the Senecas came to the School House, where I and my family had gone that day to carry on a meeting among ourselves. They came in and informed us that they had come to learn the Will of God made known in His word. They had agreed to observe the Sabbath and listen to the instruction of the Word of God. For four weeks they stood alone, encountering all the ridicule the opposition were pleased to bestow. The 15th of September four other young men of similar character joined us with similar professions; their wives were won over by their husbands; three elderly women joined us; two of them were mothers of the young men, the other was a white woman, a captive taken when a child, and one old chief, a captive taken when a child, the father of the young men." At first the hymns and prayers were in English and Mr. Hyde spoke to the Indians through his interpreter, but in October some Tuscaroras visited them on the Sabbath and conducted the singing in the Indian language. This aroused much interest and Mr. Hyde began to instruct his followers in singing on Wednesday evenings. The meetings were crowded and the school house became too small for their needs. Finally some of the old chiefs who had stood aloof, professed an attachment for the teachings of Christianity and attended the meetings.

Being advised of this encouraging change, the New York Missionary Society sent two commissioners to meet the chiefs in council, with the result that the Senecas, Onondagas and

Cayugas on the reservation entered into a covenant with the commissioners, by the terms of which the Society engaged to send them teachers free of expense, the Indians agreeing to receive them, listen to their instructions and advise and counsel with the Society. Mr. Hyde says there was only one chief of considerable note who absented himself and did not sign the covenant.

After the commissioners left, the Pagans charged the Christian party with selling themselves to be the bond slaves of the ministers "who would eat up their land and consume them off the earth," and in the spring council which followed, in June, 1819, a furious discussion took place, with sharp recriminations, in which Red Jacket was violently prominent, but after a stormy session of four days, commissioners of the United States arrived to discuss the relinquishment of certain lands, and in this even more engrossing discussion the subject of religion was dropped, and finally the council dispersed without any decision on that point and every one was left to think and act for himself.

So many difficulties now arose between Mr. Hyde and his people and with his interpreter that from the 1st of January, 1820, until the 17th of April he suspended his labors among them.

In the meantime, in fulfillment of its promise to provide additional teachers, the New York Missionary Society sent Mr. and Mrs. James Young of Orange Co., N. Y., who left New York in the autumn of 1819 and were eight days on their journey from that city to the Tuscarora village, where they were to remain until the mission house under construction for them at the Buffalo Creek should be completed. With them was Miss Esther Rutgers Low of New York City, a young lady of but twenty-one years of age, who was sent by the Society, as an assistant in the school. Her service among the Senecas was but brief, for two years later she married Rev. David Remington of Buffalo, who then became a missionary to the Mississippi Choctaws. She was the mother of Miss Elizabeth H. Remington and of the late Cyrus K. Remington of Buffalo. The former preserves a

very interesting account written by her mother of that long journey in 1819.

The new house which they were to occupy at the Seneca village was located near the site of the later mission house (built in 1833), which is still standing (1903) north of Seneca Street, close by the old Indian cemetery, Buffam Street at the present time passing between these landmarks of the past. Miss Low states that it was a log house two stories high, the second floor being reserved for the school. Here Mr. Young and his companions established themselves about January 1, 1820, the journey from the Tuscarora village being made in a large country wagon, on which their household goods were piled, over rough roads with mud so deep that despite an early morning start they were compelled to stop for the night at a tavern half way to Buffalo. Another day was consumed in reaching the house of Mr. Ransom in Buffalo, which stood on the spot afterwards occupied by the Universalist Church on Main Street, near Chippewa. Here they were hospitably entertained and on the third day, through still greater perils of mud and unbroken forests, they made their way to their final destination.

Their work of instruction began at once. Besides the usual English classes, the ladies of the family taught the Indian women and girls how to knit and to sew; and what David Gamut would have called "the difficult art of Psalmody" was taught with some success to a class of young men who came for the purpose two evenings in each week. She says that many of them had good voices and were fond of singing. When summer came and their garden vegetables were ripe they found many dusky guests who were glad to be taught by practical demonstration how such things could be cooked and generously served. The Indian palate developed an especial vocation for squash and the resources of the little mission were sorely taxed by the constant call for "more."

On the 5th of September, 1820, Rev. Timothy Alden again visited Buffalo Creek and gives us in his letter to Dr. Albert Holmes of Cambridge, Mass., an interesting view of the situation:

"On Tuesday, we arrived at the mission house in the most

populous village in the Buffalo Creek Reservation, still occupied by Mr. Hyde, who, having passed through many tribulations and discouragements in his benevolent and arduous labors continued for about nine years for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Senecas is now rejoicing in the prospect of a better time, which already begins to glimmer on this benighted people. . . . The Indians are greatly pleased at the labors of Mr. Hyde in translating and printing from time to time portions of the Holy Scriptures. He will shortly have finished a selection from the Bible to the amount of about one hundred copies of Seneca and English in opposite columns. He has spared no pains or expense to cause many of the Indians to be instructed in the art of singing. In almost every cabin he entered a singing book was immediately produced and many pieces of our best church music were sung by note in just time and by words prepared by Mr. Hyde in their vernacular tongue. . . . Mr. Hyde under the patronage of the New York Missionary Society, with the humble but honorable name of a Catechist, delivers regular discourses from Sabbath to Sabbath in the village of his residence and occasionally at Kataraugus and Tonewanta, when a cavalcade of nearly twenty of the principal characters of his important charge accompanies him thirty miles from respect to this faithful laborer in the vineyard. . . . Although Mr. Hyde is sometimes absent on the Sabbath, yet his people steadily hold a meeting at which several of the chiefs pray, repeat passages from those parts of the Bible already translated and give an exhortation. They have a decent and comfortable place for public worship in their Council House, which by a resolve of long standing is the chief council fire-place of all the Six Nations. The present is a new building 42x18 feet and is well constructed of hewn logs. It is shingled, glazed, arched and sealed and furnished with neat and commodious seats and a good chimney, all the work of the Indians. The monthly concert of prayer is very observing and on every Thursday evening the singers meet together to perfect themselves in Psalmody and for religious instruction."

He then describes a meeting of this character which he

attended September 7th, and gives the words of the "Adeste Fideles" as sung in the Seneca language. His address was interpreted by George Jemison, a grandson of Mary Jemison and a brother of Jacob, to whom reference has been previously made:

"On Thursday, the 21st of September, we had the pleasure of witnessing the operation of an Indian School conducted by James Young, his wife and Miss Low. It is in the midway situation between two of the principal villages on the Buffalo Creek and was instituted under the patronage of the New York Missionary Society. The house lately erected is well calculated for the designed object and is furnished with a fine-toned bell of about 150 pounds weight. A lower story divided into a competent number of rooms affords comfortable accommodations for the worthy and indefatigable mission family. The upper story, consisting of one spacious room, the chimney being the center, with the fixtures and appurtenances for reading, writing, cyphering, sewing, knitting and spinning, is very convenient for the complex business of this flourishing seminary. A building on the plan of this construction may be considered as a good model for such an aboriginal establishment. We were highly pleased at the order and decorum which marks the conduct of the pupils, both male and female, and at the proficiency they had made in the various branches to which they had attended. The school is daily opened and closed with prayer, with a hymn in Seneca, which many of the children of both sexes, instructed by Mr. Young, sing with great propriety and exhibit a very interesting scene. He states not more than fifteen boys have attended the school of this place from day to day and about an equal number of girls, but that the previous winter the number of boys was forty-five and girls twenty-five. On the Sabbath, the 24th of September, the Council House was well filled with the aborigines and amongst them were the chiefs Pollard, Young King, White Chief, Tall Peter, Seneca White and White Seneca. . . . On the following day we took our departure from the Reservation and our leave of the faithful laborer in this vineyard, Mr. Hyde, his worthy consort, and family. It is truly grate-

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ful to witness the wonderful providential alteration for good, both spiritual and temporal, which has taken place among the aborigines of this region since my last visit in 1818; this to be attributed to no small degree in Providence to the edifying example of the mission family."

Towards the close of the year 1820 negotiations were in progress for the transfer by the New York Missionary Society of this mission station and that at Tuscarora village to the United Foreign Missionary Society, an organization formed July 28, 1817, by the united action of the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed and the Associate Reformed Churches of New York City. In December, 1820, when this transfer was pending, two commissioners, Rev. Stephen N. Rowan of New York and Rev. Henry P. Strong of Phelps, N. Y.,* were sent to obtain the consent of all concerned. They sat in council with the Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas at the Buffalo Creek, December 14, 1820, when the chiefs met their wishes and declared that they were now willing to receive a settled minister. Adjourning from the council house to Mr. Young's residence, Rev. Mr. Rowan joined in marriage the interpreter, Thomas Armstrong, and Rebecca Hempferman, both white captives taken in infancy by the Senecas during the Revolutionary War, who had been adopted by their captors and brought up as Indian children.

At the same time Jonathan Jacket, youngest son of Red Jacket, was married to Yeck-ah-wak, a young woman from Cattaraugus. This is said to have been the first Christian marriage among the Senecas. Mrs. Remington states that when the ceremony was ended Mr. Strong said to Armstrong, "Thomas, with us we salute the bride, that is we kiss her; it is not in the ceremony, only it is a custom and a pleasure and you can do as you like about it." Thomas interpreted it to his wife and after due and solemn deliberation responded: "We have considered it and as we do not see any profit in it we will omit it," which was therefore done.

*MS. record written by Rev. Francis A. Vinton in 1869 in possession of the A. B. C. F. M., Boston, Mass. Miss Low's narrative says this was Rev. Paschal H. Strong, corresponding secretary N. Y. Home Missionary Society, which is more probably correct.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The second of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It is a nation of people who have come from many different parts of the world, and who have brought with them their own customs and traditions.

The third of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a nation of people who have fought for their rights and who have established a government that guarantees the rights of all its citizens.

The fourth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It is a nation of people who have been able to overcome many difficulties and to build a great nation out of a small colony.

The fifth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It is a nation of people who have fought for their rights and who have established a government that guarantees the rights of all its citizens.

The sixth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice. It is a nation of people who have fought for their rights and who have established a government that guarantees the rights of all its citizens.

The seventh of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of love. It is a nation of people who have fought for their rights and who have established a government that guarantees the rights of all its citizens.

The eighth of these is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It is a nation of people who have fought for their rights and who have established a government that guarantees the rights of all its citizens.

In January, 1821, the Seneca Mission was formally transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society and September 19, 1821, Rev. Thompson S. Harris of Bound Brook, N. J., a recent graduate of Princeton College and Seminary and a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, was appointed missionary for the Buffalo Creek Reservation, whither his young wife, Marianne La Tournette, accompanied him.

For some reason which is unexplained, these changes brought about the retirement of Mr. Hyde, who had labored so long and faithfully in this difficult field and to whom those who followed were indebted in the largest measure for all that opened the way for subsequent success. Rev. Timothy Alden speaks of meeting him in 1827 and says: "He was ordained several years ago and has been diligently laboring in vacant congregations of white people in sundry parts of the Gospel Vineyard; but neither forgets nor is forgotten by, the Senecas, who were first led under the great Head of the Church, by his instructions and example, to an acknowledgment of the truth. The seven hymns, in Seneca, which he composed and published, have been sung seven years and the chiefs having requested him to enlarge their number, are much gratified by his recent prompt attention to their wishes. With his knowledge and the aid of which he can avail himself, he might soon translate at least one of the Gospels into the Seneca dialect."

On the 2d of November, 1821, Mr. Harris reached the mission station and records in his journal the pleasure he felt in "the neatness and simplicity of our family apartments." Very fortunately his earlier journals have been preserved, enabling us to see from the almost daily record which he penned, somewhat of the unwonted experiences which now occupied his life. There are many expressions of deep personal feeling, an unfailing reliance upon the mercy and goodness of God to which he and those who shared his work with him looked for help and guidance in difficult ways too often beset with grievous discouragements. Its phrases often seem stilted to our unaccustomed ears, but there is throughout a genuineness which com-

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mands our respect and compels our sympathy, and here and there we catch such glimpses of his surroundings as are of no small interest in picturing men and manners among those rude neighbors of Buffalo in its early years.

On the day following his arrival he met with the natives for purposes of worship. He tells us that these services were held in their council house about a mile distant from the station and his first impressions were not unfavorable: "Congregation very attentive during service to the subject treated of. Much more order than could have been expected from persons so ignorant and no more accustomed to discipline, but it is natural and perhaps constitutional."

During the first year of his service at the mission Mr. Harris found that he had much to learn of Indian ways, but he seems to have been a quick-witted scholar and to have applied himself with conscientious devotion and with much tact to a knowledge of the strange people among whom his lot was cast and to have succeeded in gaining their confidence and trust. Within a week of his arrival a council, which was well attended by the chiefs, was held at the mission house, when his letters from the United Foreign Missionary Society were delivered and explained and the way opened for his work. The principal speakers mentioned by him were "Little Johnson" and the celebrated Captain Pollard, who seems to have been one of the foremost among the Senecas to welcome whatever might lead to their instruction and to the advancement of his people in ways of civilization. In his speech he thanked the Great Spirit who had thus brought them face to face and the good society who had sent a minister "who could explain to them the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ contained in the Good Book," and promised that they would "listen with all possible attention to the explanations which should from time to time be made from the Word of God, for their best good and the salvation of their souls." It was evident that for all of this the way had been opened by the labors of Mr. Hyde during the ten years prior to Mr. Harris's coming, for he found a large and important following among the influential chiefs. Perhaps the most devoted of these throughout his ministry was Seneca

White, who lived until about 1870. On the 12th of November, Mr. Harris reports in his journal an interesting interview with this chief and with his brother, John Seneca, when Seneca White told him "that in his younger days in looking around him and seeing so many of his neighbors (white) as well as those of his own nation addicted to improper and sinful practices, some getting drunk, others disobeying their parents, others addicted to gambling and frolicking, etc., he had made up his mind to abstain from all these things, to act justly and uprightly with all so far as it was in his power; he had seen the great misery which such conduct had brought upon those who engaged in it, as well as on their friends; that in looking back upon the path which he himself had trod he had some sorrow because he found nothing which could merit anything at the hands of God for he well knew that sin was mixed with all his actions . . . and it was his constant wish that his sins might be pardoned and he accepted through Christ."

The Pagan party, under their famous leader, Red Jacket, were by no means inactive, and their persistent opposition continued through many years, brought many difficulties and discouragements to the struggling mission and its adherents. Mr. Harris had brought a letter to the Indians from the U. S. War Department commending the mission and the school, and this in no small measure strengthened their hands. On the 5th of December, 1821, Mr. Harris had an interesting interview with Captain Jasper Parrish, United States Agent for the Six Nations, of whom he says: "He appears to be friendly to our establishment and anxious for the improvement of the people. He says that his aim and mine in regard to this people are one, they both tend to one result, i. e., the happiness and prosperity of the people, only his line of duties lies in one way and mine in another, but that both should go on together. He stated a conversation which took place between him and Red Jacket this morning. Jacket came to him and wished to know his opinion, whether he did not think that the Black-coats were not coming in among them in order to take away their lands. He told them it was no such thing, their lands were secured

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to them by Government and that they could not be deprived of them as long as that Government exists. That there is no incumbrance whatever except the right of pre-emption, which only relates to the right of a company's purchasing them provided they wish to sell. He promptly told him that he was an opposer of missionaries who had been sent him by people who wished their best good; that not only so, but that he was opposing Government, who was very desirous of having them instructed and their children. And now you dare to oppose missionaries and societies and Government? Can you, a single man, presume to fly in the face of all these and violently resist them? Ah, well, but what had been the result of those numerous tribes who had received missionaries among them? What had become of them? They are extinct; they are forever gone, so that the name even is no more remembered. Well, and has dissipation and war had no effect in bringing about this catastrophe? Oh, yes, but liquor and sin and swearing all have come in this way. And after giving him a good scolding and telling him that all was in vain and that his people would become Christian in spite of all his efforts they parted 'about as good friends as we met.'"

At this time Little Beard was still living and was the principal chief at the Tonawanda Reservation and on the evening of December 10th, he came to see Mr. Harris who says of him that "he appears to be an honest candid man; he said he was very glad to see me and wished to let me know that his people wish to have a school-master from the Board,—a good Christian man, not lazy but swift, and one that knew a good deal and who would not set an example to his boys by which they would be induced to drink rum; this he said, 'no good.'"

On the following morning the missionary was gratified at receiving a visit from Young King, who seemed much pleased at the prospect of improvement and said: "Ten year ago Indians no work, no fence, no cattle, no corn,—all dark. Now good many cattle and boys some work,—by and by, maybe ten years,—boys work, make good roads and good fence, and have everything good."

At the mission station, besides Mr. and Mrs. Harris and the teacher, Mr. Young and his wife, there were two assistants, Miss Van Patten and Miss Reeve, who had been sent especially to instruct the Indian women in spinning and weaving and similar industries. When the Indians gathered at the mission house on Christmas day "it was proposed to them that as the mission house was more central to the three villages and as it would much accommodate them in bringing their children to and from Sunday school, and as it would better suit our women, some of whom were feeble and in ill health and not able to walk so far, it could perhaps with a little expense be as suitable a place for public worship as any other and as it would be likely to accommodate both the people and the mission family, the question was put to them whether they would agree to meet here or at the Council house, and whether they would consent to assist in moving the school house, which stood at Mr. Hyde's former residence, for the purpose of a weave shop for the squaws?" The answer, which required a fortnight's deliberation, did not savor of that gratitude which the minister expected. They thought the council house, a mile distant, was good enough for them and should be for any one else: there was nothing in it which could be stolen, and that the mission women could afford to walk a mile for the sake of doing good, while the removal of Mr. Hyde's school house would be a useless trouble and expense. Mr. Harris thought their reply savored of "considerable impudence," but there was no help for it; the services were held at the distant council house and a new school house was begun at the station. The work had been interrupted by reason of the recent changes, but by appointment Mr. Young opened school April 10, 1821, with fifteen or sixteen scholars, with the understanding that as soon as the building was ready the children should be received into the mission family instead of returning from day to day, but when the time came a council was held May 22nd, and the chiefs gravely informed the missionary that they did not wish to have their children instructed in agriculture, as reading and writing were quite sufficient for the purposes

of the Gospel. Moreover, they were unwilling to have the schoolmaster correct their children and the outcome seems to be summed up in the brief entry in Mr. Harris's journal, May 23rd: "Mr. Young ready to go into school, but no children came." Prejudices and misunderstandings stood in the way, and it was not until July 1st that after many councils with the chiefs, fifteen children were sent by their parents to live with the mission family. By the 10th of July twenty-four had been received and the journal comments very hopefully upon their seeming intelligence and interest. None the less they were Indian children, resentful of discipline, and only a week had passed when several of the boys deserted the school, with such bad effect in the way of example that September 24th all the girls ran away, to the great grief of the good missionary and the teacher who found little help and less comfort in appealing to Indian parents, who manifestly did not care.

On the 2nd of November, 1821, the first report of the mission to the Government was made in the form of a letter to the Secretary of War of which a copy has been preserved. This is of much interest as a picture of the actual situation at that early day:

The establishment with which the undersigned have the happiness as well as honor to be connected, under the superintendence and patronage of the United Foreign Missionary Society, is situated about four miles east of Buffalo on the Indian Reservation, in that vicinity. Its immediate site is within 70 rods of one of the branches of the Buffalo Creek which enters into the lake at Buffalo, and is nearly central to the whole population on the Reservation. The number of individuals which are at present employed in educating the Indians at the station consists in all of six souls: a minister of the Gospel and wife, and one infant child; a teacher and wife and one female assistant. Of these the teacher and wife have been on the ground three years, the others have been but one. The teacher on his arrival was directed to erect a block-house 24 by 28 for the accommodation of his family and school and to open a local school on the usual plan; the children coming every morning and returning again at night. In the course of time this method of conducting the school was found to be deficient, because it did not nor could not secure the punctual attendance of the

children, scattered as they were over the Reservation. It was then judged proper by our Board that a frame house should be built sufficiently capacious for the accommodation of the minister and as many scholars as should be judged expedient to receive under the superintendence of the family and to conduct the establishment upon the plan projected at the South and with which the Executive is in some measure acquainted. The necessary buildings were completed for the reception of the youth on the 1st of July, 1822, and about 20 children taken under the immediate care of a Christian family.

Upon the present plan of instruction it is our calculation primarily to introduce the children to the knowledge of the English language and to open to them through this school those sources of information which are so highly valued by the instructors of youth in this happy republick, believing that (it) is of the highest importance that the children among the Six Nations, surrounded as they are by a dense population of whites, should be made acquainted as early as possible with the language of that community, with which they will in time in all probability be amalgamated.

This plan of instruction also supposes it highly proper that, together with the advantages to be received in the training of a Christian family, the children should be taught the common branches of agriculture and be made acquainted with those mechanic arts that may be of inestimable use in promoting their civilization. That under the influence of sober and industrious habits they may learn to support themselves by cultivating the small remains of that soil, of the whole of which they were once the sole proprietors, but which has been too often diverted from them by the cruel hand of avarice, or sold through their own ignorance, for the merest trifle. But for the accomplishment of all this much time, labor and additional expense will be indispensably necessary. To complete the establishment under our superintendence it would seem important that more and different teachers should be employed in this work. Particularly a farmer is needed in connection with the establishment, not only to lessen the expenditures of the mission which are increasingly large, but also by having a well cultivated farm in immediate sight, the natives may be excited to those industrious habits which are so seemingly calculated to raise them to a level with enlightened man.

The improvements belonging to the establishment consist principally of the aforementioned buildings, together with a garden improved and about 12 acres enclosed with a substantial fence for an orchard and meadow. It was not discovered till a part of the

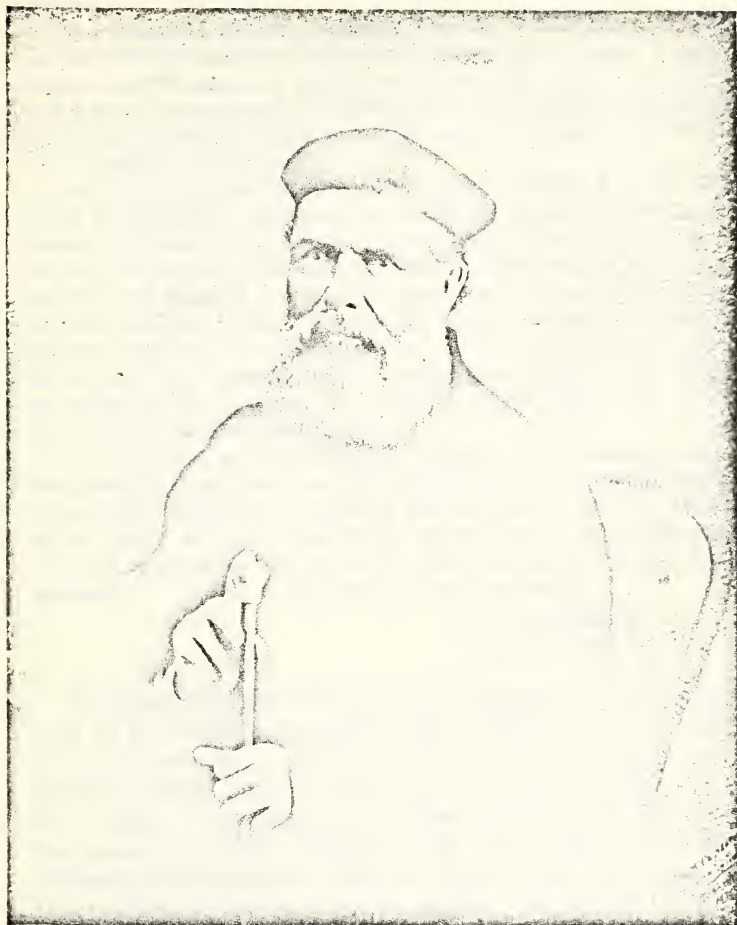
The American Medical Association is a national organization of physicians and surgeons, organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public. It is the largest and most influential of the medical organizations in the United States. The Association is composed of more than 50,000 members, who are organized into local, state, and national societies. The Association's primary concern is the advancement of the medical profession and the improvement of the medical service to the public. It does this by promoting research, education, and the highest standards of medical practice.

The Association's efforts are directed towards the improvement of the medical service to the public. It does this by promoting research, education, and the highest standards of medical practice. The Association's primary concern is the advancement of the medical profession and the improvement of the medical service to the public. It does this by promoting research, education, and the highest standards of medical practice. The Association's primary concern is the advancement of the medical profession and the improvement of the medical service to the public. It does this by promoting research, education, and the highest standards of medical practice.

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REV. ASHER WRIGHT,
MISSIONARY TO THE SENECA, 1831-1875.



buildings had been commenced that the site selected for their erection was composed of a bed of almost solid limestone with a thin layer of earth above. Much labor and expense have been necessary in digging the cellar and well, the first of which only is completed.

The moveable property belonging to the establishment chiefly consists of implements of husbandry intended for the boys; a loom, wheels and the necessary apparatus for the instruction of the girls and a set of carpenters' and shoemakers' tools, together with those articles of household furniture which would be found indispensable for a family of 30 persons.

For the full accomplishment of the objects embraced in our plan much time, patience, perseverance and more funds than we can at present command, are absolutely necessary. For the further prosecution of our measures we look with confident and buoyant hopes to the foster hand of Government, which has been so long, and we hope faithfully, extended for the protection and relief of its red children, will not be withdrawn from patronizing those institutions which have been formed for the amelioration of our Indian brothers which, in the language of a member of our board, "are in the full tide of successful operation."

To this work we have devoted ourselves for life, expecting no other reward than that of an approving conscience in the discharge of our duty, hoping and believing that in the use of the proper means many will yet arise from among this people who shall continue to enlighten and bless this nation down to the latest generations.

Sir, Yours most respectfully,

T. S. HARRIS,
JAS. YOUNG.

The year 1823 proved to be an important one in the history of the mission, bringing some realization of the hopes of its leaders, and witnessing the first organization of a church society among these Indians of its especial care. The laxity of the marriage relation among them had been the cause of great solicitude with Mr. Harris, who had earnestly remonstrated with the chiefs over the extent of this evil and its unhappy consequences. On the 6th of January after one of their meetings, nine of the young men expressed their desire to be married by him "in a lawful Christian manner, for the purpose of setting their own minds at rest and also as an example to their nation." There is a

the following: (1) the fact that the patient is not a native-born American citizen; (2) the fact that the patient is not a member of the American Medical Association; (3) the fact that the patient is not a resident of the United States.

The following are the reasons for the patient's admission to the hospital: (1) the fact that the patient is not a native-born American citizen; (2) the fact that the patient is not a member of the American Medical Association; (3) the fact that the patient is not a resident of the United States.

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touch of homely humor in the narrative as given in Mr. Harris's journal. "They concluded by asking if it would be in our power to gratify their wish of preparing a supper for the parties to be married, provided they found the provisions. They were told that we would be disposed to gratify their wishes as might appear to be proper. They would at once see the propriety of our not adapting any of the funds or the Board to such an object. But as they had generously offered to contribute all the materials of a supper on this occasion I would leave it with our females on whom the burden would chiefly fall, to say whether it would be in their power to gratify their wishes in this respect or not. Upon the sisters expressing their consent they left us exceedingly pleased." The school also seemed to prosper in its small way and March 10th Mr. Harris writes: "Our school is certainly becoming more and more tractable: the whole number is 17. The progress they make in the knowledge of household business and in the various branches of study which occupy their attention the most of the day is truly gratifying. There is one class of six or seven who read fluently in the N. Testament, another who spell in words of two or three syllables and one or two beginners. They also make tolerable progress in learning the English language."

The teacher, Mr. James Young, had been for some time engaged in preparing a hymn book in the Seneca language. This work had been attempted by Mr. Hyde as early as 1820 as well as the translation of portions of the Holy Scriptures. In that year, as we have already seen, Mr. Alden wrote that Mr. Hyde printed 100 copies of these selections with the Seneca and English in opposite columns and in addition had composed and published seven hymns in Seneca. It is much to be regretted that no copy of either of these publications is known to be in existence. On the 27th of March, 1823, Mr. Harris writes in his journal: "At the close of the singing this evening we had the satisfaction to state to the congregation that the printing of the Indian Hymn Book prepared by the teacher for the use of the school and for the congregation was now completed. It

was also stated that the printing and binding of the whole number of copies (which is 500) will cost near \$40.00 and that as only \$20.00 had been appropriated by a few benevolent white men for this object, we expected that they would assist us in defraying part of the expense of printing; that they might either agree to pay the remaining sum in whole or in part to take the books at 25c apiece, not however before they had examined them a little for themselves and see whether they could derive benefit from them. One or two of the hymns were then interpreted and sung by those who can read, verse by verse. They appeared exceedingly pleased and pronounced it 'was good' and said that they should cheerfully take upon themselves to pay at least part of the expense; but supposed that as the books would be equally useful to all the Seneca nation on the five reservations it appeared proper that the expense should be divided, not that one should be eased, and another burdened, but that all should pay an equal portion. They therefore advised that the teacher keep the books in his possession until the approaching June council when the necessary expense should be defrayed out of their annuities."

But one copy of this hymn book is known to be in existence now,* but in 1829 the American Tract Society republished what is doubtless the same, "Hymns in the Seneca Tongue by James Young," the collection comprising twenty-nine hymns or psalms in Seneca, with the English versions on opposite pages, the same volume containing "Christ's Sermon on the Mountain, translated into the Seneca Tongue by T. S. Harris and J. Young," in which the Seneca and English versions also face each other. A copy of this edition of 1829 was found in the leaden box placed in 1855 in the cornerstone of the Thomas Asylum when this first of its buildings was demolished and the box opened in 1901.

Sunday, the 10th of April, 1823, was the date of forming the first church organization among the Seneca Indians. Mr. Harris tells us that it was a delightful spring morning. "About 12 o'clock the people had pretty generally collected to view the solemn feast, everything having been previously

* Owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

arranged. Discourse from I. Cor. 6-20: 'For ye are brought with a price, therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit which are God's.' After sermon the candidates were called forward and questioned on some of the plainer truths of the Bible and as to the sincerity of their desire to devote themselves to God in that covenant which is well ordered and sure in all things. After expressing their assent, the nature of baptism was explained more fully to their comprehension. They then knelt down one by one and were baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost and were invited to the table. It was still and solemn and our prayer is that our God and father would condescend to ratify in heaven the sincere service of us frail imperfect mortals here on earth. The audience consisting of 150 persons was as solemn and orderly as could be reasonably expected. Thank God that he has planted his infant church in this heathen land. Look down O Lord and visit this vine and the vineyard which thy right hand has planted. Next Sabbath was appointed for baptising the young children of these who were for the first time admitted to the sealing ordinances of the church."

Besides Mr. and Mrs. Harris and Mr. and Mrs. Young, there were now in the mission family as assistants, Miss Phœbe Selden of Hartford, Conn., and Miss Asenath Bishop from Homer, N. Y. Four of the Indian chiefs were at this time admitted to church fellowship: Seneca White, of whom Mr. Harris wrote: "He is decidedly the nearest earthly friend we have in this country and the pillar of his people"; John Seneca, who was Seneca White's brother; James Stephenson and Tall Peter. There were, therefore, ten members of this church at its first organization. In 1824 Henry Twoguns and Captain Pollard were admitted to fellowship and Pollard's wife joined the church in the following year with two others. Among the five who were added to its membership in 1826 were White Seneca, another brother of Seneca White, and their father the old White Chief, who was generally known as "Father White." Mr. Harris says of him: "This man is above 80 years of age, is a white man, was taken captive by the Indians in their

wars, has lived with them ever since, grew up to be a mighty hunter and great warrior and has long been a chief of much influence and is yet a sensible affectionate and friendly old man." In 1827 twenty-two were added to their number, including Seneca White's mother and his wife, also the wife of Red Jacket. In 1828 nine were added, bringing the membership up to fifty-two persons. On the 10th of October, 1823, Mr. Harris writes: "For the first time since our location among this people Red Jacket has this day paid us a visit and given us the privilege of a short interview. He appears rather friendly than otherwise, but we are quite suspicious nevertheless that his heart is secretly at work in endeavoring to execute his dark designs of mischief and opposition." In this he was not mistaken, for two days later Seneca White reported that Red Jacket had proposed to the young chiefs of the Christian party that they should turn the teachers "neck and heels out of doors," take their buildings and let a young man (Jacob Jemison), who had been away at school teach the children, pay him out of the annuity money and have "a respectable school without the interference of these malicious Black Coats whose only aim is to entrap us with their pretended displays of friendship, that they may the more successfully practise their frauds and impositions and eventually lay us waste forever."

This attempt failed, but a few months later this wily leader of the Pagan party succeeded for a time in his plans of opposition. In 1821 a law had been enacted forbidding the residence of white men upon Indian lands. This, Mr. Harris says, had been introduced "for the express purpose of gratifying Red Jacket." In the early winter of 1822 a petition had been presented to the Legislature from the principal chiefs of the Christian party, signed also, it would appear, by "the friends of Christianity and civilization in this and adjoining counties" praying that the law be altered "so that ministers of the Gospel and mechanics of good moral character might be excepted." This failed of success and the statute remaining unchanged, Red Jacket and his followers with whom "some white pagans joined," entered a formal complaint against the mission family remaining on

the reservation, so that February 23, 1824, the District Attorney, Heman B. Potter, notified Mr. Harris of this, adding, "I don't see but that I must proceed to remove you, but I advised postponement till I could write you, but after a reasonable time to hear from you I shall be obliged to proceed."

This was a crushing blow, but there was no escaping it. By the middle of March, 1824, the mission was broken up. An appeal to the Legislature had been made without success, but a year later the law was changed and Mr. Harris returned to the mission house to resume his work in June, 1825.*

The schoolteacher, Mr. James Young, did not return to the mission with Mr. Harris at this time and his place was filled by Gilman Clark, who served until in 1827 he was compelled to resign "on account of ill health." An important coadjutor at this time was Hanover Bradley, who with his wife (Catharine Wheeler) had joined the family at Christmas, 1823, as steward and farmer, afterward becoming a catechist and always rendering valuable service to the struggling mission. The other assistants were Miss Asenath Bishop, who came February 23, 1823, and remained eighteen years until November, 1841, and Miss Nancy Henderson, who served for six years from 1824 until 1830. To these were afterward added Miss Phoebe Selden, 1826 to 1833; Miss Emily Root, 1827 to 1833; and Miss Rebecca Newhall, 1828 to 1832. From 1828 to 1830 or 1831 a Mr. Morton was in charge of the school and his wife was one of the assistants.

Upon his return Mr. Harris was given a general superintendence of the missions at Cattaraugus and the Tuscarora village in addition to his own at Seneca, and from this time his journals describe his frequent visits to the more distant stations where he saw many hopeful signs of progress. The Society of Friends had done much for the material and moral elevation of the Indians, especially on the Allegheny and later on the Cattaraugus reservations, but their quiet ways were not his own and one may read between the lines

**Missionary Herald*, Vol. 20, pp. 132-162.

The following is a list of the names of the members of the American Medical Association who have been elected to the office of President of the Association for the year 1915. The names are listed in alphabetical order of their last names.

Dr. J. C. Brainerd, of the University of Michigan, has been elected President of the American Medical Association for the year 1915. Dr. Brainerd is a member of the Association since 1885 and has held the office of President of the Association for the year 1915.

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a certain satisfaction with which he records the shrewdness of logic shown by one of his own flock of whom he says: "In a conversation by one of these young converts with a Quaker, the latter stated to him his view of the work of the spirit under the similitude of a cord let down from heaven and attached to every man's heart and that when this cord was touched by the finger of God the motion was invariably felt at the lower extremity. 'It may be so,' said the man, 'but I still have my doubts whether that is just so. I have been a good deal accustomed to fishing. I have frequently cast in my hook well baited; I have sometimes felt very certain after it has sunk from my sight that I felt the bite of a fish. On examination I found I had no fish and the bait undiminished. Now it might possibly have been a fish that thus deceived me or it might have been the Devil. So, friend, I am afraid the Devil has more to do with this cord you speak of than you think for.'"

July 31, 1826, the United States Foreign Missionary Society was merged in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and these Indian missions were then formally transferred to that control.

September 15, 1826, Mr. Harris writes in his journal: "It seems that our Mission School is considered by the host of strangers who visit these regions in the travelling season as a great curiosity and with many we hope a matter of special and delightful interest. The proximity of our Station to the Village of Buffalo affords great facility of gratifying those who are capable of being wrought upon by the novelty of an Indian School. Scarce a day passes but several carriages stand at our yard fence loaded with visitors. To-day the school has exhibited before about 30 persons, among whom we had the pleasure of counting the Hon. the Secy. of the Navy of the United States* and suite, who expressed themselves highly gratified with the intelligent countenances and the agreeable and surprising proficiency of the children. A young gentleman, a native of England, appeared so much interested as to stay the greater part of the

*Samuel Lewis Southard.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

From its first settlement in 1630 to the present time, the city of Boston has been a center of commerce, industry, and culture. It has been a place where the ideas of the American Revolution were born and where the spirit of independence was first kindled. The city has grown from a small fishing village to a great metropolis, and its history is a testament to the courage and vision of its people. In the early years, the city was a place of hardship and struggle, but it was also a place of hope and promise. The people of Boston were determined to build a better life for themselves and for their children, and they did so with a spirit of determination and courage that has inspired generations. The city has been a place of great achievement and great sacrifice, and its history is a testament to the power of the human spirit. The people of Boston have built a city that is a source of pride and inspiration for all who love it, and their story is a story that will live on for ever.

day and left with the mission on his departure a donation of \$10.00."

March 5, 1827, he mentions that at their monthly concert of prayer held at the council house a request was made that those should rise who wished Christians to pray for them. "Among the rest was the wife of the celebrated pagan chief, Red Jacket, who says that she feels she must repent; that she is an old and wicked sinner, and wishes to be remembered in the prayers of Christians. There is something peculiar in the case of this woman. She has for a long time had great struggles of conscience in conforming to heathenish customs. But she states she has done it out of regard to the feelings of her husband by whom she was overawed. She has recently conversed with him on her desires to become a Christian. He has told her plumply that the moment she publicly professes such an intention, that moment will terminate forever their connection as man and wife. She has deliberately made up her mind to seek the salvation of her soul and if he leaves her for it he must go. She hopes to gain more than he has to give her; the salvation of her soul she views of far more importance than all that; the Lord Jesus she must seek and hazard all consequences. I understand that her husband has really fulfilled his threat, and we humbly trust that He who said 'he that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, husband or wife more than Me is not worthy of Me' will strengthen her to take up her cross and bear it. She is about 50 years old."

Red Jacket carried out his threat, repudiated his wife and plunged deeper than ever into dissolute dissipation. It is worthy of note, however, that before his death he returned to his wife and to her home, where he ended his days, unreconciled, however, to the last that his people should have departed from the pagan faith and pagan customs of their ancestors. May 20, 1827, Mr. Harris tells us that there were at that time 70 or 80 scholars at the mission school and adds, "It is our intention if the Lord will and provided they pursue the subject until they are able to read, to attempt a translation of certain parts of the Sacred Scriptures into their language." The first results of this worthy inten-

tion were seen in the translation of the Sermon on the Mount which was published in 1829, as before noted, by the American Tract Society, together with the 29 hymns translated by Mr. Young. In November, 1829, the Gospel of St. Luke, translated by Mr. Harris into Seneca, was also published by the American Tract Society in an edition of 1,000 copies.

It is much to be regretted that with the exception of a few scattering leaves the journal of Mr. Harris subsequent to 1827 cannot be found and that similar journals were not written by his successors. Further details of the Seneca Mission for the most part only can be found in the scanty notes published at times in the columns of the *Missionary Herald*. In 1828 Mr. Harris reported: "The chiefs and people resolved to build a small chapel to cost \$1700.00 by subscription among themselves, to be 41 by 51 ft., one story, arched ceiling, vestibule, small tower, cupola, bell and etc.: to be painted and to hold 400 persons: to be paid for \$1000.00 in cash and the rest in lumber."* February 19, 1829, his report states that "many of the people are away furnishing lumber for the meeting house."† This was the old Seneca church painted white, with belfry and bell, which stood until recent years north of Seneca Street, in about the middle of what is now called the Indian Church Road, near the old Indian Cemetery. Its completion is thus noted in the *Buffalo Patriot*: "The new meeting house at the Seneca Mission near Buffalo was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God on Wednesday, August 19th [1829]. Rev. T. S. Harris, Supt. preached from Genesis xxviii.-17. ["This is none other but the house of God and this is the gate of heaven."‡] Rev. S. Eaton of Buffalo and Rev. Hiram Smith of Collins assisted. Singing by the natives. Cost little more than \$1600.00 and (except about \$270.00) was defrayed by the Indians."‡

By reason of some dissatisfaction which had arisen

**Missionary Herald*, Vol. 24, p. 150.

†*Missionary Herald*, Vol. 25, p. 215.

‡*Missionary Herald*, Vol. 25, p. 334. When the Senecas were forced to abandon the Buffalo Reservation, 1843-4, the building was suffered to fall into decay, and was finally blown down. The gilded arrow which was its weather-vane is now preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

The first of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a homogeneous group. There are many different types of physicians, and each type has its own special interests. The second is the fact that the medical profession is not a single entity. It is made up of many different groups, each of which has its own special interests.

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among the Christian Indians, Mr. Harris resigned from their ministry June 28, 1830, and for some months the mission was in charge of Mr. Hanover Bradley, the steward and catechist. By the records of the American Board it would appear that at this time Rev. Hiram Smith, Rev. Joseph Lane and Rev. John Elliot were in service there for short periods, but no details of their services are preserved.

On the 9th of November, 1831, began the long ministry of Rev. Asher Wright, which lasted for forty-four years and until his death, April 13, 1875. To this life work of devotion to the spiritual and mental elevation of an alien race he brought rare qualities of mind and heart, an untiring patience, a gentleness of soul with a firmness of purpose that endeared him to the people to whom he ministered, so that by those of that ministry who still live and by the children of those who have passed away, his name and memory are still held in an enduring affection.

He was born at Hanover, N. H., in 1803, and had but just graduated from Andover Seminary. He brought his young wife (Martha Egerton of Randolph, Vt.,) with him, but two months after their arrival she died and January 21, 1833, he married again. His second wife, Laura M. Sheldon of St. Johnsbury, Vt., (born 1809) was well suited to be his helpmeet and the sharer of his labors. This gentle soul became no less than he, a missionary in the truest sense of the word. Especially was she devoted to the welfare, physical, mental and moral, of the Indian women and the Indian children with whom henceforth her life was passed. They became her people who loved her as she loved them. For their good no self-sacrifice upon her part was too great. No one in suffering or need, in distress of body or sorrow of soul ever appealed to her in vain, and her earnest labors in works of charity and love bore rich and lasting fruit. She outlived her husband many years, but her endeavors for those she too had learned to love never ceased until her death, January 21, 1886. Those of us who were so fortunate as to know her in her later years, gentle and kindly in her ways and venerable with the snows of age, remember

that sweet face as one would remember the features of a saint.

The coming of Mr. Wright to the Seneca Mission brought immediate results. In 1832, thirty-five new members were added to the little church, among whom were the celebrated chiefs, Young King, Captain Billy and Destroy Town: among them also was an Indian youth, James Young, educated at the Mission School, who evidently had taken the name of his instructor, the first schoolmaster, and is mentioned by Mr. Wright as "James Young, the scholar who aided Brother Harris in his translation of the Gospel of St. Luke."*

The building, still preserved (1903) and known to us as the "old Mission House" which stands on the west side of Buffum Street, north of Seneca and diagonally opposite to the former Indian Cemetery, was built after Mr. Wright's arrival at the station. Mrs. Martha E. Parker, widow of Nicholson H. Parker, and Mrs. Wright's favorite niece, who came to join the mission family in 1836, when as a girl of fifteen she was adopted by her aunt, states that this building was erected in 1833. Mrs. Parker is still living on the Cattaraugus Reservation and although she is well past eighty years of age, her memory is very clear and stores up many reminiscences of those early days of the Seneca Mission. The earlier buildings have disappeared, but this remains in good condition throughout and is so closely associated with interesting features of our local history that if possible it should be preserved.

For thirteen years after its erection the Senecas retained their lands on the Buffalo Creek and during all that time the mission house was the center of all the formative civilizing influences which helped to advance these Indians toward self-helpful and better lives. Here their children were taught farm and garden work as well as to read and to write English; here the Indian women and girls were taught to spin and weave, to knit and to sew; and here all heard the message of the Gospel as it was told them by Mr. Wright and those who were his helpers.

**Missionary Herald*, Vol. 28, p. 407.

It was soon after Mrs. Wright's coming to the Seneca Mission in 1833 that she saw the famous captive Mary Jemison, the "White Woman of the Genesee." She was on her death bed and grieved at heart because she could not remember the prayer she had learned at her mother's knee. On the night of their capture her mother had told her that she thought she herself would be killed, but her child's life might be spared and bade her never to forget her name or her childhood's prayer. In the weary years of a long life among the strange people that had become her own, it had been forgotten, but when Mrs. Wright kneeled at her side and repeated the Lord's prayer, the memories of childhood returned and the tears streamed down the aged, furrowed cheeks as she said, "That is the prayer my mother taught me."

Scarcely less touching was the story of that other captive, the old White Chief, as told by Mrs. Wright. He was the father of Seneca White, John Seneca and White Seneca, and as Mr. Harris's journal relates, Father White had been an early friend of the Mission, becoming himself a Christian and adopting in his age the ways of civilized life as did his children. He had been, Mrs. Wright says, very tall with a fine, erect form, and delicate features. He was naturally very white, and when young had long brown hair, although when the missionaries first saw him it was white as snow. He was amiable and affectionate in disposition and the Indians testified that his whole life had been remarkably upright. He told Mrs. Wright his story and she recorded it in the simple, pathetic way in which it was told. He was a very small child when he was made captive and it was but natural that growing up among the Senecas, he had become, as Mary Jemison had become, bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. He could remember his mother, but he had never been able to learn who his parents were or where they had lived, save that it was in the Susquehanna Valley. When he became a Christian he was much impressed with the thought that this had been the religion of his parents and kindred and that he might now be able to find in another world the friends from whom he had been separated

in this. When he was dying he sent in haste for Mr. and Mrs. Wright who found him in tears: "One thing," said he, "gives me great uneasiness. I understand no language but the Indian. I am afraid when I go into the other world that I shall not be able to communicate with my own white friends, because I shall not understand their language."

The missionaries comforted him by their assurances that in heaven one would be understood by all and that all would be the children of God, and so brought peace to his troubled soul as it fared forth on that last great journey.*

In those years both Mr. and Mrs. Wright travelled on horseback through the swamps and forests on their errands of mercy, carrying in their saddlebags the food and medicine for which need had arisen, visiting the log cabins of the Indians or the distant log school houses which had been built at Onondaga village, Jack Berry's town and elsewhere, where the assistants, Asenath Bishop, Rebecca Newhall and Phoebe Selden, lived and taught. It must have been lonely housekeeping, for some of them were miles away from the mission house, but once a week on Friday evening, all gathered at that central station and spent the night there; and Mrs. Parker, then Martha Hoyt, who was the housekeeper, was like Martha of old, "troubled about many things" in the limitations of a self-denying housekeeping, where bread, pork and potatoes were the prevailing diet and where tea, coffee, pies, cake, sugar and asparagus were forbidden luxuries that "were not allowed in the house." Eggs were not excluded as sinful luxuries, but think of custards without sugar! or of a "warm drink" made with hemlock tips!† She says that the big Dutch oven was kept very busy baking for the weekly gathering so that there might be an abundance for the Friday supper and that the faithful teachers might be able to take some good biscuit back with them when they returned to their own solitary housekeeping on Saturday morning.

Mr. Wright had a natural aptitude for linguistic study and, it is said, was master of seven languages. He soon ac-

*H. S. Caswell, "Our Life Among the Iroquois," pp. 53-56.

†Caswell, "Our Life Among the Iroquois," p. 23.

quired a familiarity with the Seneca tongue and under his instruction his wife, like himself, became adept in its use. They overcame its difficulties so that Mr. Wright was able to preach to his dusky flock in their own speech. One of his noteworthy labors was the elaboration of a peculiar system of orthography for the written language with its various accents, more perfect in this respect than that which had been used by Mr. Hyde and Mr. Harris, and the first book printed in this way was a small primer in paper covers 7 by 4½ inches in size, prepared at Boston in 1836 for the use of the mission school. A literal translation of the Seneca title page is: "Beginning Book, Mrs. Wright she wrote. Mr. Jimerson he translated. The old men they printed. Boston their reside at, 1836." They keenly felt the need of printing facilities that should be near at hand and under their own control and the way opening by which they were enabled to procure a hand printing press, in 1841 Mr. Wright installed the Mission Press, equipped with fonts of especially prepared type for printing books and papers in the Seneca tongue. Mr. Benjamin C. Van Duzee came in that year to reside at the mission house and was employed as a printer. The press was set up in a "lean-to" attached to the house and its earliest publication was the first number of a small eight-page periodical entitled "Ne Jaguhnigoages-gwathah," "The Mental Elevator," which thus began its career November 30, 1841. This first number states on its last page: "This paper is printed at the Seneca Mission Station. It is the first effort of the sort in the Seneca language and is designed exclusively for the spiritual and intellectual benefit of the Indians. Will not Christian friends aid us with their prayers?"

Of the Mental Elevator nineteen eight-page numbers were printed in all. They appeared at irregular intervals, nine of them having been printed at the Buffalo Creek Reservation, the ninth number bearing date April 1, 1845. In 1846, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was given up, the press was removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation, where it continued in its useful work, and there ten more numbers of the Mental Elevator were published, the first at the Cat-

taugaus station, being Number 10, June 3, 1846, and the final issue, Number 19, April 15, 1850. In this series was published a translation into Seneca of the first eight chapters of Genesis and part of the ninth, also the 19th and 20th chapters of Exodus, the Epistle General of St. James and some shorter passages of Scripture. No. 2 contains the Lord's Prayer in Tuscarora verse; No. 4 gives the Seneca version of Dr. Watts's hymn, "Go, preach my gospel," etc. Numbers 6, 8, 9, 10, 15 and 19 contain articles in Seneca with the English on the opposite page; and a few notices, obituaries, etc., in English occur.

Among the publications of the Mission Press while at the Buffalo Creek Reservation, the following are known:

Go'-wana-gwa'-he'-sat'-hah Yon-de'-yas-dah'-gwah. A Spelling Book in the Seneca Language with English definitions. Buffalo Creek Reservation, Mission Press, 1842.

Regarding this Mrs. Wright wrote in 1855: "This work is still unfinished. These sheets contain the definitions of several hundred Seneca words and a tolerably complete explanation of the grammatical principles of the language, except the verb. In respect to the verb no complete analysis has yet been effected nor is there much reason to expect the accomplishment of this object until some competent Seneca scholar shall have become a universal grammarian."

In 1843 the Mission Press issued a new edition (the third) of the Seneca Hymn Book which had originally been prepared by Rev. T. S. Harris and James Young. It was now enlarged to contain 111 hymns and was a small book $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, bound in sheep covers. In 1844 Mr. Wright published a small sixteen-page pamphlet containing such portions of the Revised Statutes as related to gambling, horse-racing, profanity, disturbance of the peace, etc., stating in his preface that it was done to encourage his people "to act the part of sober and respectable inhabitants of a civilized community." Its title is: "Extracts from the Revised Statutes of the State of New York, Volume I. Part I. Chapter XX, Title VIII. Of the Prevention and punishment of immorality and disorderly practices. Seneca Mission Press, 1844."

In 1846 when the Buffalo Creek Mission was finally closed, the Mission Press was taken by Mr. Wright to the Cattaraugus Reservation, where, as has been noted, the publication of the *Mental Elevator* was continued and other pamphlets and books were issued. Among these were the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark in pamphlet form, 8 by 5 inches, without covers and without date. Mr. Van Duzee went with the press to the Cattaraugus and while he remained as printer, there was issued in February, 1847, "The First Book for Indian Schools. Printed at the Mission Press, Cattaraugus Reservation, 1847." This little book, 5½ by 3½ inches in size, in paper covers, contains in its 72 pages a thoughtful preface by Mr. Wright explaining some of the difficulties in teaching Indian children; a series of lessons for their use and a number of English poems. Mr. Van Duzee was soon succeeded by another printer, Mr. H. M. Morgan. Then the press was taken to Gowanda, where Mr. Morgan printed a still later edition of the *Seneca Hymn Book* in a cloth-bound volume, 6 x 4 inches, (without date) containing 232 pages and about 129 hymns, also a series of periodical pamphlets containing selections from Scripture and hymns in the Seneca tongue.

The press was finally destroyed by fire while still at Gowanda.

The treaty of Buffalo Creek, January 15, 1838, as amended June 11, 1838, ratified by the United States Senate and proclaimed by President Van Buren in April, 1839, came very near accomplishing the removal of all the Indians of the Buffalo Creek and the other Western New York reservations from the State. So much dishonest corruption had entered into this sale of these reservations to the Ogden Land Company, that the strenuous efforts of those who exposed the frauds practiced, especially the endeavors of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia and Baltimore, finally resulted in the compromise treaty of May 20, 1842, by which the Senecas retained the Allegheny and Cattaraugus lands, giving up the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations to the Ogden Land Company, although the Tonawanda Senecas ultimately regained their land by purchase. It had



MRS. ASHER WRIGHT.



been a trying time for the missionaries, who had used every exertion to aid the more honest of the chiefs in their hard-fought struggle. The four years which followed the treaty of 1842 were years of bitterness while the removal of the Indians to the Cattaraugus and the Allegheny was being effected. Mr. and Mrs. Wright with the mission family remained at the Seneca station until 1846, when they, too, with saddened hearts followed their people to the upper station on the Cattaraugus Reservation to continue their self-sacrificing labors there to their life's end.

With their departure the story of the Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek ends. Fifty-seven years have gone by since that day and have wrought wonderful changes. A great city now includes within its borders what were then the forests and swamps of the Indian reservation and with its well-built streets unheedingly stretches beyond the humble borders of that old time mission. The spreading trees of walnut and oak which even then shaded the mission burying-ground, are still preserved within its deserted enclosure, but the bones of Red Jacket, of Pollard, Young King, Mary Jenison and of all those once famous in council or in war who at last slept beneath their branches, have been taken thence and the place that knew them in life and in death now knows them no more. The old mission house alone still stands, a witness to the self-sacrifice and devotion to works of mercy, charity and love of those who labored there in days long since gone by and with unselfish hearts and humble souls, without hope of other reward than His, sought only to do their Master's bidding.

NARRATIVES OF
EARLY MISSION WORK
ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER AND
BUFFALO CREEK.

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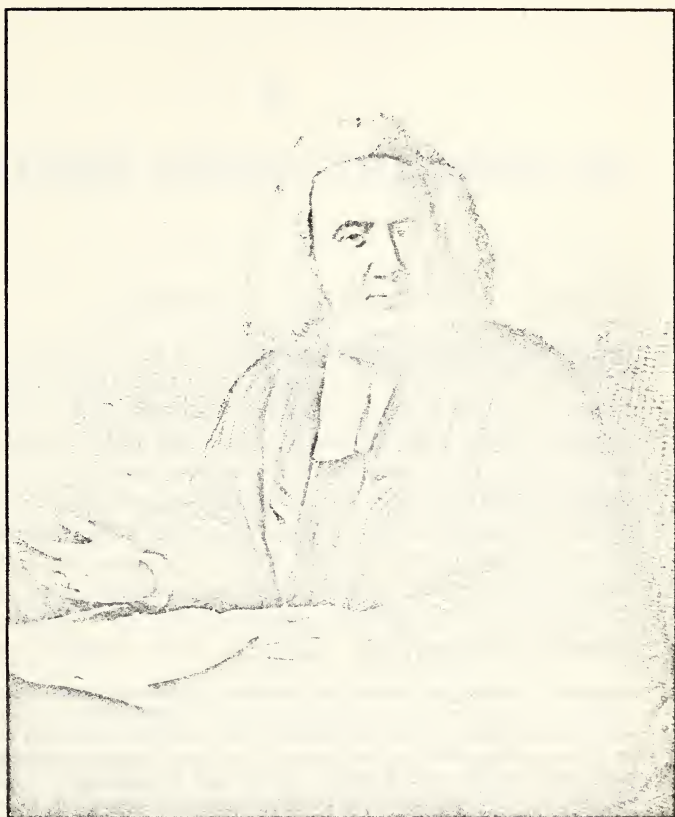
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REV. JOHN OGILVIE, D. D.

FIRST PROTESTANT MINISTER TO VISIT THE NIAGARA REGION (1759).

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY COPLEY, OWNED BY THE CORPORATION OF TRINITY
CHURCH, NEW YORK.



Fig. 1. The first stage of the process of the formation of the structure of the material.

NARRATIVES *of* EARLY MISSION WORK ON THE NIAGARA AND BUFFALO CREEK

I.

QUAKERS AMONG THE SENECA.

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE.

The first visit of a Protestant missionary to the region of Buffalo Creek and the Niagara, of which we find record, was that of Rev. Samuel Kirkland, in the summer of 1788.* "His object in this journey was to ascertain, and furnish to the Board of Commissioners in Boston, a particular account of the situation and numbers of the Senecas, their disposition towards the Christian religion, the prospects of usefulness to a missionary residing among them, and also to be present, by invitation and request, at a treaty to be held in their country." ("Life of Samuel Kirkland," by Samuel K. Lothrop, Boston, 1848; p. 281.) He reached the Seneca

*A distinguished Protestant missionary had visited the Niagara in Johnson's army in 1759, but as his coming hither was apparently in the capacity of chaplain to the British troops, and not as a missionary to the Indians, it would be hardly permissible to begin the record with him. This was the Rev. John Ogilvie, a native of New York, and a graduate of Yale College. Being a Dutch scholar, he had been appointed to the mission at Albany in 1848, going thither the following year. In connection with his parish work, he was active for many years as a missionary among the Mohawks. He was a favorite with Sir William Johnson, who in 1756 asked the Lords of Trade to grant him an increase of salary. In 1755-56 we find him often in attendance at councils at Fort Johnson. He joined the expedition against Niagara, and remained with the army until the close of the war. He it undoubtedly was who officiated at the burial of Prideaux at Fort Niagara, being the first Protestant clergyman to conduct religious services on the banks of the Niagara. He became rector of Trinity Church, New York, and shared in translating into Mohawk the Book of Common Prayer. He died Nov. 26, 1774, aged 51. Our engraving is from an oil portrait by Copley, owned by the Corporation of Trinity Church.

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village on Buffalo Creek, June 26, 1788. His personal reception was cordial, but the Senecas showed no desire for his form of gospel ministration; "they preferred," says Lothrop, "an Episcopal or Roman Catholic, who would baptise their children without any evidence of personal regeneration in the parents." Mr. Kirkland was a Calvinist, and his earlier missionary work among the Oneidas, and the Senecas at Kanadesaga (near the present town of Geneva, New York), was carried on, as at this time, under the auspices of the "Board of Correspondents, in the Colony of Connecticut, New England, appointed and commissioned by the Honorable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge," the first Protestant organization, apparently, to concern itself with missionary work in our region.* Mr. Kirkland's visit in 1788 was partly to promote a project of union among Indian tribes; this came to naught, nor is there trace of any further missionary work among the Senecas for some years.

The first work for moral and social betterment among the Indians of Western New York, which can be regarded as bearing fruit, was done by the Society of Friends. As early as 1791, his confidence won by the friendliness of Quakers whom he met while on a visit to Philadelphia, Cornplanter had proposed that they take two Seneca boys to educate. This request turned the attention of the Quakers particularly to the Senecas on the Western New York reservations. Sacarese (various spellings) was chief sachem of the Tuscaroras at this period, and a man of distinction in the especial phase of the history of this region which we are here presenting. In 1794 he attended a treaty at Canandaigua, where he met four Friends from Philadelphia. In William Savery's Journal the following record of this meeting is found: "29th [Oct.]. Sagareesa, or the Sword-carrier, visited us: he appears to be a thoughtful man, and mentioned a desire he had, that some of our young men might come among them as teachers: we supposed he meant as schoolmasters and artisans. Perhaps this intimation may

*For an account of earlier visits by Catholic missionaries, see "Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier," by Frank H. Severance.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and that its history is therefore a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and that its history is therefore a history of conflict and compromise. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is therefore a history of assimilation and integration. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers, and that its history is therefore a history of exploration and discovery. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of entrepreneurs, and that its history is therefore a history of innovation and invention. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of reformers, and that its history is therefore a history of social and political change. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of idealists, and that its history is therefore a history of high aspirations and noble goals. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pragmatists, and that its history is therefore a history of practical solutions and realistic policies. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of optimists, and that its history is therefore a history of hope and faith in the future.

The history of the United States is a story of a nation that has grown from a small colony to a great power. It is a story of a nation that has expanded its territory from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean. It is a story of a nation that has fought for its freedom and independence. It is a story of a nation that has struggled to achieve equality and justice for all its people. It is a story of a nation that has made great contributions to the world in the fields of science, art, and literature. It is a story of a nation that has shown the world the power of democracy and the value of human rights. It is a story of a nation that has inspired the people of other countries to fight for their own freedom and independence. It is a story of a nation that has shown the world the power of love and the value of peace. It is a story of a nation that has shown the world the power of hope and the value of faith in the future. It is a story of a nation that has shown the world the power of the American dream and the value of the American way of life. It is a story of a nation that has shown the world the power of the United States of America.

be so made use of in a future day, that great good may accrue to the poor Indians, if some religious young men of our Society could, from a sense of duty, be induced to spend some time among them, either as schoolmasters or mechanics." It is, therefore, to Cornplanter, the Seneca, and to Sacarese, the Tuscarora, that credit is due for the first suggestion that resulted after some years in the Quaker establishments on the Alleghany, Cattaraugus and Tuscarora reservations.

In 1795 a committee was appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, etc., "for promoting the improvement and gradual civilization of the Indian natives."* Acting under this plan, in May, 1798, three Friends came among the Senecas at the Cornplanter reservation on the Alleghany, obtained permission to settle, and entered upon the work of secular teaching, and helping the Indians to better agricultural methods and ways of living; but there was little, if any, religious instruction, which—as appears from some of the journals printed in the following pages—won for these devoted and practical Quakers the disapproval of later missionaries on Buffalo Creek. The Friends on the Alleghany located at an ancient village called Genesangohta, near the line dividing New York and Pennsylvania, and nearly in the center of the Indian settlements on the Alleghany; their largest town, called Jeneshadago, being nine miles below, some fifteen miles above the present site of Warren, Pa. There they and their successors continued to reside and teach even to the present day.

In 1799 "Friends went from this settlement to the Cattaraugus [Cattaraugus] River, distant about forty-five miles, where a large number of Senecas reside, who had requested a set of sawmill irons and other aid. The chief being generally from home, a letter was left with a white man at Buffalo, who has been adopted into their nation, informing them that a set of sawmill irons would be given them when

*"Proceedings of the Committee appointed in the year 1795 by the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, &c., for promoting the Improvement and Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives." Second Ed., Phil., 1805.

they were prepared to build a mill; and if they left off their very intemperate use of strong drink it might be some encouragement to help them further."* In 1801 the Friends report that "the resolution against the introduction of strong liquor [on the Alleghany] continues to be supported and it is said the Indians of Buffaloe Creek have also made some stand against it." To these Quaker brothers, beginning with the good counsel of Jacob Lindley at Buffalo in 1797, as appears from his journal, following—is to be credited the first movement for temperance among the Senecas since the Abbé Piquet had preached against the traders' brandy at Fort Niagara in 1751.

In 1803, "Friends visited the Senecas at Buffalo Creek, and found a saw mill just finished, for which we had supplied them with the irons; a visit was also made to the Tonewantas. At both places, and particularly the latter, many had left off the use of whiskey and other strong drink, and were improving in habits of industry."

In 1793, John Parrish, William Savery, John Elliott, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, Quakers, were deputed by the Friends' "Meeting for Sufferings," and with the approval of President Washington, to attend a treaty to be held at Sandusky. With John Heckewelder, the famous Moravian missionary, they reached Fort Niagara May 25th, and on June 5th sailed from Fort Erie. Returning, they were again at Fort Erie Aug. 22d, and Messrs. Lindley, Elliott, Moore, and Parrish (John the Quaker, not Jasper the interpreter) made a "religious visit" to Friends on the Canadian side of the Niagara. The best account of this tour is given in the "Journal" of William Savery [London, 1844]. Although some of these Friends engaged in religious and missionary work on the Niagara at this time, it is not recorded that they visited the Senecas on Buffalo Creek. Four years later Jacob Lindley again visited the region, and met the Indians on Buffalo Creek. His journal of this visit is the first of the collection that follows.

*"Proceedings Yearly Meeting of Friends," etc., Philadelphia, 1805.

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II. JACOB LINDLEY'S JOURNAL.

HIS ACCOUNT OF HIS "RELIGIOUS VISIT" TO THE
FRIENDS IN CANADA, AND TO INDIANS ON
BUFFALO CREEK, IN 1797.*

On the 13th of the 10th month, 1797, I parted with my dear wife and children, and in company with my beloved friend and fellow-traveller, James Wilson, proceeded† to George Valentine's. We spent the evening at Joshua Baldwin's, in company with Jesse Kersey, Isaac Coates and wife, John Baldwin and wife, and Moses Mendenhall. Here also we met with our mutually endeared friend, and companion in the journey, Joshua Sharpless. Next day, went to John Scarlet's, in the Forest, where we dined, and then resumed our journey over a rough road, up the Schuylkill to Reading, and thence to Maiden creek. Lodged at Thomas Lightfoot's; and on the 15th, attended Maiden creek meeting, where we were, I humbly hope, owned of the Master, and refreshed together. Here we met our other companions,

*Several families of Friends had settled in Canada, mostly in the Niagara district and around the west end of Lake Ontario, about the year 1792. There had been subsequent emigration to this section from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1797 the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia sent a deputation to visit these Friends and enquire into their condition, material and spiritual. James Wilson, three others and Jacob Lindley performed the journey, and it is the latter's account of it that we here print. He had been on the Niagara four years previously, as we have shown (*ante*, p. 163.) Another committee, consisting of Isaac Coates, William Blakey and others, made a similar visit in 1799.

† From Philadelphia.

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The Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine and Allied Sciences is a quarterly publication which contains original research papers, clinical reports, and reviews of the literature. The Journal is published by the Society of Medical Officers, which is a body of medical practitioners who are elected by the Royal Society of Medicine. The Journal is one of the most important sources of information for medical practitioners and researchers alike. It contains a wide range of subjects, including general medicine, surgery, gynaecology, pediatrics, and the various branches of the medical sciences. The Journal is published in both English and French. The price of the Journal is £1.00 per volume, which contains four issues. The Journal is available to members of the Royal Society of Medicine at a special rate. The Journal is also available to libraries and other institutions. The Journal is published by the Society of Medical Officers, which is a body of medical practitioners who are elected by the Royal Society of Medicine. The Journal is one of the most important sources of information for medical practitioners and researchers alike. It contains a wide range of subjects, including general medicine, surgery, gynaecology, pediatrics, and the various branches of the medical sciences. The Journal is published in both English and French. The price of the Journal is £1.00 per volume, which contains four issues. The Journal is available to members of the Royal Society of Medicine at a special rate. The Journal is also available to libraries and other institutions.

Oliver Paxson and James Langstaff. After a short time spent in religious retirement, at our kind friends, John and Eunice Starr's, we set out, five in number, accompanied by our friend Samuel Lee, as a guide; and pursued our journey up the various windings of the Schuylkill, up hill and down, and along the side of the Blue mountain;—viewing the awful works of the Almighty, in the great display of his wisdom and power, in the visible creation.

16th [Oct.]. Set out early, and rode over the second Blue Ridge, Tuscarora, Locust, Mahonoy, Broad, and Little mountains; and so passed into Roaring creek valley, in view, frequently, of majestic, high, towering mountains, and awfully tremendous, deep vallies. The most of the way very stony, and tiresome for man and beast; yet somewhat alleviated by the wonderfully variegated prospect of nature's capacious garden,—far exceeding Solomon's architecture, in all its glory. Lodged at Catawissa; and next day crossed the north branch of Susquehanna, and rode to Jesse Haines's, at Fishing creek, where we dined. Then resumed our journey, and rode to our truly hospitable friends, William and Mercy Ellis's, where we met with a kind reception.

18th. Took leave of William Ellis's family, and went on to the widow Harris's, where we were gladly received, and dined on venison; the young men having killed three deer the preceding day. In the afternoon, proceeded along a champaign road to Lycoming, then took a northerly route, pursuing the meanders of the stream, along rich vallies, abounding with exceeding lofty pines, button-wood, &c. Arrived at Kyle's before sunset, having passed through two little towns, one on the east side of Lycoming creek, called by that name, and the other on the west side, called Newberry. Next day, being fourth of the week, we set out about break of day. Our dextrous landlord, Kyle, had lately faced a wounded bear, that was in full pursuit of him. He jumped over a large log, and when the bear rose upon it, he turned, and struck him in the breast with his knife, and killed him. We travelled a rich valley for seven or eight miles, then ascended and descended several formidable Al-

leghany hills, over mire and stone, and round about huge trees, that had been blown up by the roots, eighteen miles, to the Block-house. Refreshed there, and went on, over very miry, stony, rough, rocky and hilly roads, to Peter's camp, a feeding place on Tioga river. Thence descending Tioga branch, our road was much improved, through exceeding rich vallies, amid as high towering pines and hemlocks as I ever beheld. The man where we lodged said he had measured them upwards of two hundred feet in height.

Thence we proceeded down the Tioga, crossed the Cownesky, Canistiere, and Cohocton, each larger than Brandywine, and wonderfully adapted to bring the amazing hemlocks, pines, and other produce, to markets on the tide waters. After ascending and descending a very formidable sprag of the Alleghany mountain, we arrived at Dolson's, on Mud creek. Lodged there, and next morning, set out very early, and rode five miles to William Kersey's, to breakfast. His house is on the bank of Bath lake, remarkable for having no inlet, nor outlet, covering about forty acres surface, always clear, and abounding with fish, having twenty-five or thirty feet depth of water. Proceeded to Bath, a thriving village;—had an interview with Judge Williamson, and entered my protest against horse-racing, and exhibition of plays, which were commencing there. Then resumed our journey, on a north-east course, over some bad swamps, to the head of Crooked lake, about twenty miles long, and perhaps three or four broad, situated amongst a number of elevated hills. We proceeded along the east side, through an exceeding rich soil. Here we saw a wild bear, the first I ever beheld. Rode hard through many deep sloughs, and round trees, fallen across the road, till after dark, when we arrived near the north-east end of Crooked lake, where the company of Jemima Wilkinson have a mill. Tarried all night at Thomas Lee's, a kind friendly family.

22nd. Being first-day, we had a meeting with the family and about twenty or thirty friendly people, to a good degree of satisfaction. After dining, we set out, and rode nine miles to Judge Powell's, who lives in a great house. Next

day we met an Indian on the road, and proceeded on to Job Howland's, his wife a Friend, and he a friendly man. Had an opportunity in his family and lodged there.

On the 24th, we visited Nathan Comstock's family. He had six goodly children. Then proceeded to Abraham Lapham's, and had a solid opportunity in his family. Next day, had a meeting at Nathan Herringdon's, which was attended by forty or fifty solid people; and ended to a good degree of satisfaction, though the life and power of the gospel did not rise so high, as I have experienced it, at some times. Returned to Nathan Comstock's to lodge, and had a solid opportunity in the family. On fifth-day had an appointed meeting at this place, where Truth rose into a comfortable degree of dominion; for which, our souls did praise the Lord, our helper. After the public meeting, we had the professors of Truth selected,—among whom were Abraham Lapham and Esther his wife, John Howland and wife, Jeremiah Smith, his wife and her son, Caleb Mackumber, a promising young friend, Jared and Otis Comstock, and their wives, with old Nathan and Mary Comstock, and divers other young people, with whom we had a close, searching season. After which we rode to Jacob Smith's, on Mud creek. Tarried there all night, and were hospitably entertained. We had a satisfactory religious opportunity in the family, together with some others.

27th. Set out, and travelled on twenty-five miles to Berry's, on Genesee river. The road generally good. Passed a number of well-improved farms, with good frame houses and barns,—sometimes two and three in a mile. We frequently met some of the poor natives, which always awakened my sympathy on beholding them. The country is generally fertile for grass and grain, abounding with numbers of stately oxen, fine sheep, and milch cattle. The housewives being generally Rhode Islanders, Connecticut, and Bay State people, have large dairies, and make excellent cheese. This country is abundantly adapted for grazing, a vast proportion of it being low and exceeding rich bottoms.

When we arrived at Genesee, no provender was to be had; so we had to turn aside to several farm-houses, to seek

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horse feed. After crossing the river, it was late; and worse than that, we took a wrong path, just entering the wilderness, and went a mile and a half—so had to return, and it raining, we had seven miles to steer along a small path, sometimes hard beset to make it out, to the Big Spring, where we arrived about half past seven, to a very smoky cabin, kept by a genteel German bachelor. Turned our horses out, and the floor was our bed.

28th of the month, and seventh of the week, set out at break of day, to encounter the waste, desert, howling wilderness. It snowed most of the day. The path was small through the woods, abounding with beech timber; the limber branches of which bowed across our path with the weight of snow, and wet us much, which made it very disagreeable. Added to this, twelve miles of the way was through swamps and sloughs of water, among roots and logs, terrifying to the horse and his rider to encounter. In the evening, got to firmer ground, and rode several miles. At length, perceived a large rock, under whose shadow, we proposed to take sanctuary for the night; having rode upwards of forty miles. My horse lost a shoe, just entering the miry road, and would not eat feed, which made it an exceedingly discouraging, trying day, to both body and mind. We attempted to get fire, but did not succeed. The snow blowed in under the ledge of our venerable mansion, and the night being cold, made it truly a suffering season. I durst not look back to New Garden, the contrast was so great; yet some discouraging thoughts would irresistably dart in upon my mind, with a language, what if thou should die here, and return no more. But a small degree of sustaining faith was vouchsafed, to resign the will.

29th. First-day. Glad to see the light of the returning day, we left the shadow of our mighty rock, and set forward, with my lame and tired horse. Met several poor Indians in the woods, and were overtaken by six men, who crossed the Genessee twelve hours before us. We crossed the great plains, the path generally good, and arrived at Buffaloe creek before sunset. Next day crossed the river, and rode twelve miles to Asa Schooley's in Canada. Ar-

The first of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a homogeneous group. There are many different types of physicians, and each type has its own special interests. The second is the fact that the medical profession is not a unified body. There are many different organizations, each representing a different type of physician. The third is the fact that the medical profession is not a single entity. It is a collection of many different groups, each with its own interests and goals.

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rived there with thankful hearts, and met a kind reception from them, their children and neighbours who came in; several of whom remembered my former visit here.

31st. Visited four families, Joseph and Anna Marsh, Daniel and Patience Pound, John and Mary Herriot, and John Cutler's. Next day, visited the remainder of professors about Black creek, Adam and Sarah Burril, Joseph and Anna Stevens, Abram Webster's and Joseph Haven's. The day following, we attended a meeting at Asa Schooley's, to a good degree of satisfaction; then went eight miles to visit Obadiah Dennis, and his parents, and returned the same evening.

3rd of 11th month. Took our journey down Niagara river. Passed the great falls,—the day being dark, smoky, and wet, we made no stay to satisfy curiosity; but the transient view and awful voice impressed ideas at the majesty of heaven. In the evening, arrived at William Lundy's, and next day visited Jeremy Moore's family, and Benjamin Hill's. Went to our friend John Hill's, who received us kindly—we found him and family in a tender frame of spirit.

First-day, the 5th. A meeting was held at John Hill's, amongst a number of Friends and neighbours, to a good degree of satisfaction. It was a contriving season, through heavenly regard, mercifully extended. Next day visited four families, and the day following had an appointed meeting at John Taylor's. A number collected, and it was a favoured season.

8th. Took leave of the Short Hills settlement;—the weather cloudy, and snow falling daily for several days past, occasions us some awful thoughts, when, or whether ever, we are to see our dear connexions again. Here appears some hope of a meeting being opened. Rode eighteen miles, and lodged at Jeremy Moore's. Next day went to Thomas Mercer's to breakfast; after which we went to see the great whirlpool, which is about three miles below the great cataract. At this formidable vortex, the river makes a bend at a right angle, which, by the velocity of the rapids above, has washed the opposite bank into a marvellous cove

of about thirty acres dimensions. The water appears immeasurably deep;—the river below, containing and passing all the waters of the many northern, stupendous lakes, and mighty rivers, is contracted to a space, perhaps not exceeding eighty yards in width, curbed by banks, no doubt one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular, which carry every appearance of the ravages of revolving years having gradually worn the tremendous falls, from some miles distance below, to their present station.

After viewing this marvellous display of omnipotent power, we returned to J. Moore's to dine;—attended a meeting at two o'clock, where several Friends and friendly people gave us their company; and I took my farewell of them, in the feelings of the heavenly Father's love, extended towards them; recommending them to the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the word of his grace, as the alone infallible teacher. Returned to J. Moore's and were edified together.

10th. Parted with my kind friends and relatives, amidst a conflux of tears. Rode past the great falls, which excite wonder and astonishment, as oft as viewed, and echo the voice, that the Power who made and sustains us, is almighty. The mist, aspiring to the neighbourhood of the clouds, resembles the smoke of many furnaces; and the sound of the cataract, awful and profound as a mighty ocean, shakes the adjacent shores to a degree so as to make windows and doors jar and rattle. The waters on the British side have visibly altered their position within four years past; at which time I visited them before. I think they wear faster on that side of the island, than on the side of the United States; the falls being ten feet higher on the American side, than the other.

We called to see Martha, the widow of John Birch, after which, pursued our journey; the weather being cold, and the roads frozen and icy. Arrived at Asa Schooley's, and the evening assumed the prospect of an approaching snow storm, which roused some keen emotions of mind respecting our several homes. Mud, rivers, rocks, deserts, mountains,

being formidable difficulties in travelling, without the addition of snow.

11th. Cloudy and some rain. Took leave of our kind friend Asa Schooley and family. His son-in-law, and John Cutler, Jr., accompanied us to Niagara ferry; where we parted with them in mutual tenderness of spirit. Crossed the great Niagara river, and went on to Buffaloe creek, where were a number of Onondaga Indians, stately sized men. The sight of those poor aborigines always excites sympathy in my heart. On first-day, the 12th, a great fall of rain occasioned our remaining stationary, which was trying, more especially as we were within twelve miles of the little meeting at Black creek, where we had designed to tarry till second-day. We have now been traversing these great woods and waters nearly two weeks; in which time, we have not enjoyed one pleasant clear day; and almost every other day there has been some fall either of snow or rain.

On second-day, the 13th, set out early, and rode four miles to Stony creek, which overflowed its banks, and the road we had to cross it was but a few perches above very large falls, which had such a tremendous aspect, that on resorting to our reason, and consulting one another, we deemed it most prudent to return to expensive lodgings, at Buffaloe creek. The sun broke out, the clouds subsided, and the weather moderated, which was some mitigation of our disappointment and fruitless anxiety. This day seemed to pass as tardy as a long summer or harvest day. I walked up and down the lake. Many Indian Chiefs and warriors, women and children, are on the move to get the British annual presents.

This evening, we had an interview with Farmer's Brother; he was accompanied by four other chiefs, and Major Jack Berry, who interpreted. We pointed out the design of Friends, in attempting to better the condition of the natives; at which he seemed pleased. I mentioned our apprehensions of distilled spirits being extremely injurious to Indians, and also to white people; withal informing him, that there were five of our company, who had travelled sev-

eral weeks, through snow, rain, and frost, and had not drunk one drop of it. He replied, he knew we drank no spirits; but that *he* did not know when he had enough. He said much about the supremacy of the Great Spirit; also was anxious to know our opinion of the diurnal motion of the earth. This subject appeared to have puzzled him, not understanding the principles or power of attraction and gravitation; and he treated it as a false hypothesis, advancing as a proof, that if the earth turned round every twenty four hours, consequently the lakes must be emptied. I told him those were subjects which belonged to learned and great men; but our concern was, that love, and peace, and good works, might increase amongst all nations; for this would be pleasing to the Great Spirit; such he loved, and made happy in another world. Which he said was "very good."

14th. Set out early; crossed a very rapid, roaring creek, and went on to Twelve-mile creek, which overflowed its banks, the roaring rapids proclaiming no mercy, having seventy feet fall in about forty perches below the fording place. This made it a serious subject to think of venturing to cross above. At length, we explored the stream below the rapids, and found it divided into four branches; which, on trial, we found practicable to ford. Then, thankful for the recent preservation, we pursued our route, and crossed another copious stream. But evening approaching, we had to look out for a place to encamp. At length, passed a bark cabin, occupied by twenty-one Indians. So we got a brand out of their fire, to kindle ours, and crossing a small stream, found a vacant cabin; then tying our horses to the bushes, we kindled up a large fire in front, and lodged tolerably comfortable; notwithstanding the night was cold, attended with some squalls of snow.

15th. The roads still heavy, with terrific slatches, black as tar, and so deep that a strong horse could just plunge and blunder through. The waters continuing high, we contemplated Tonnewanto, the largest of these streams in this howling wilderness, not rideable,—therefore concluded to go by the Indian village, eight miles round, in order to ferry over. After a tedious ride, we arrived there, and found

about a dozen Indian houses and huts, containing about 150 inhabitants; amongst the rest, a Frenchman who has an Indian wife. We purchased some corn and milk of him. He had a cobling, small canoe, into which we put our saddles and baggage, and passed over, one at a time. We drove the poor, fatigued horses in, cold and snowy as it was; and they swam across the river, about forty yards over.

With hearts devoted to return praise to the Preserver of men, the Lord our mighty helper, we resumed our route; contemplating the difficulties which our primitive worthies must have encountered, in their first visits to Friends in America.

Passed through a champaign country, abounding with vast poplars, bass-wood, cherry, red oak, &c. and notwithstanding our detention at Tonnewanto, we rode about thirty miles. Came to a bark house and took up lodgings; tied up our poor horses again, made up a fire, and composed ourselves as well as we could;—the night very cold, and threatening snow. Next morning decamped early, and travelled on till we crossed the Genessee river, and got to good lodgings; for which favour, with the many deliverances experienced in our varied trials, my soul desires to return the tribute of thanksgiving and glory, to the supreme Controller of events.

Many are the sufferings, which travellers experience in this uncultivated part of nature's garden. We passed, and administered relief to a poor woman and four children, on the bank of a large creek, which they durst not pass, by reason of the swell. They were out of money, and out of bread, their horses lost, and the man, whose name was Bradshaw, away, hunting them. She received our gratuity, with many descending tears. After we had rode about five miles, we overtook the horses, and got a man who accompanied us from Buffaloe to take them back. We were touched with a feeling of sympathy for every fellow creature under difficulty, in these inhospitable wilds.

Next day we travelled on through the snow, which was descending plentifully, and reached Danbury, where we obtained good lodgings. The day following, pursued the

mountain road, (rightly named) and crossed ten hills, and as many vallies, the ascent and descent equally difficult and dangerous, for man and beast. After riding about seventeen miles, through a habitation of wild beasts, where no man dwells, nor perhaps never may, we arrived at a cabin, fed our tired horses, and proceeded to Bath, along the banks of the Cohocton, passing through many a dismal mire. Here we could procure no provender for our horses, tired as they were, and the riders hungry and cold; so we pressed on to Dolson's, at Mud creek.

19th. Proceeded on to the Painted Post. Crossed the Cohocton, Canistiere, Tioga, and Cownesky. Saw several deer, and one beautiful buck, wading the Tioga. Put up at Salisbury, having rode thirty-two miles. I often felt my mind wafted to New Garden; it being the time of our Quarterly meeting. I now consider that we have been greatly favoured, in that those several mighty waters which we have passed in the last seventeen miles, were rideable, considering the abundant fall of rain and snow. Our lodging was on the floor, with our saddles for our pillows, and mush and milk for supper. Next morning, rode ten miles to breakfast, then for twelve miles saw no human inhabitants; but the country was inhabited by wolves, deer, and bears, which their numerous paths in the snow, abundantly evinced. Also, for several days, we met with no animal food but venison. We called at half a dozen houses to buy some bread, to support us through the wilderness, but could not obtain a single crumb;—the inhabitants generally subsisting on mush, made of corn beat in a mortar.

We rejoiced to take our leave of the waters of Tioga, having ascended them for upwards of thirty miles, and crossed it twelve times in twenty miles. Then encountered the rugged Alleghany mountains, to the famed Block-house. Fed our horses, and called for supper, which was thus served up: coffee, without cream; buckwheat cakes, without butter, and venison broiled, without gravy. I joined Joshua Sharpless in a wish for the fragments of our Quarterly meeting dinner; but all in vain.

21st. Set out at break of day; ascended and descended

a very large rugged mountain, to Trout Run, the head source of Lycoming creek; which stream we followed to its junction with the west branch of Susquehanna, thence crossing the Loyalsock, we proceeded to the hospitable mansion of our kind friend Samuel Wallace, where we were courteously entertained. The contrast between this and our late lodgings, was so great as scarcely to be described. Here, we parted with our friends and fellow travellers, Oliver Paxson and James Langstaff.

Next day, attended Muncy preparative meeting, to a good degree of satisfaction. Dined at William Ellis's, and then in company with him and his wife, proceeded to Fishing creek; where, next day, we attended an appointed meeting, to my comfort; being possessed of a hope that Truth's testimony is likely to prosper amongst them. Dined at John Eves's, and then went on to Catawissa, and lodged at James Watson's.

25th. Attended Catawissa monthly meeting; where we met a body of qualified Friends, beyond my expectation; and it was to me a favoured season. Went on to Charles Chapman's to lodge, and had a religious opportunity with them and their nine children.

Next day, attended Roaring creek meeting, which was large, and mostly composed of goodly looking Friends; yet it proved a laborious, searching season; but in the conclusion, was favoured with a solemn covering. Dined at Nathan Lee's, then went on to Bezaleel Hayhurst's, who is married to a granddaughter of Thomas Ross.

27th. Took our leave of the family about sun-rise, and ascended and descended the several huge piles of earth and stone, dividing the Susquehanna, Schuylkill, and Delaware waters. About the middle of the afternoon, crossed the upper branches of Mahoning creek, and thence to the waters of the Schuylkill, down which we descended to Mosher's tavern and lodged.

From thence, pursued our journey home, where we arrived in safety, having been absent about seven weeks, and travelled upward of a thousand miles.

The first of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a homogeneous body. It is composed of many different groups, each with its own interests and its own methods of procedure. The second is the fact that the medical profession is not a single entity. It is composed of many different groups, each with its own interests and its own methods of procedure. The third is the fact that the medical profession is not a single entity. It is composed of many different groups, each with its own interests and its own methods of procedure.

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NOTE—To make our record of early (Protestant) missionary visits in the Niagara region more nearly complete, it should be recorded that as early as May, 1785, the Moravian missionaries Jungman and Senseman came down from their establishments at the west of Lake Erie, and made a brief halt at Fort Niagara, then passing on to Oswego, and thence by Fort Stanwix and Albany to Bethlehem. There is no account that they preached, either to Indians or white men, on the Niagara.

Missionaries were sent to the Western Reserve, now included in north-eastern Ohio, by the Connecticut Missionary Society, as early as 1800. The Rev. William Wick had settled at Youngstown, O., in 1799. In December, 1800, the Rev. Joseph Badger visited him there, Badger being the first missionary sent to that region by the society named. He preached "all over the Reserve, and along the shore of Lake Erie as far as Sandusky." In 1801 the Rev. Ezekiel J. Chapman was sent from Hartford, Conn., to the Reserve, and in June, 1803, was followed by the Rev. Thomas Robbins, in 1805 by Rev. Calvin Chapin, and the Rev. David Bacon and in 1807 by the Rev. Archibald Bassett. Mr. Bacon was specially appointed "to labor among the Indians south and southwest of Lake Erie." ("Early Ecclesiastical History of the Western Reserve," by Rev. W. E. Barton.) It is probable that several if not all of these missionaries traveled westward by way of Buffalo Creek, and preached here, in passing, either to whites or Indians.

In the *American Pioneer*, vol. II. (Cincinnati, O., 1843), is a letter from Joseph Badger, dated Plain Wood Co., [O.] Feb. 25, 1843, in which he writes, obviously speaking of himself: "The first missionary to this n. w. region of Ohio came under the patronage of the Connecticut Missionary Society, in the year 1800. He arrived at Youngstown in the last week of December, and preached there the last Sabbath of the month. . . The want of roads and bridges over streams, made traveling difficult and dangerous; the missionary however visited all the settlements excepting one, in 1801, and the 28th of October laid his course for New England, on the Indian path from the Reserve along the lake shore to Buffalo. . . The missionary arrived in Buffalo on the 1st of November, was confined there with a fever 11 days, then rode to Bloomfield and was detained by sickness three weeks, . . and reached his family residence in Blanford about the 1st of January, 1802, having been absent from his family more than a year.

"At a meeting of the missionary society, he agreed to move to the West; made preparation and began his journey in February. After a long and wearisome journey, he arrived at Buffalo about the last of April [1802], with his wife and six children. Where that large city now stands there was only four or six log cabins. Here was the end of all but Indian residences for nearly 80 miles, and only an Indian path. He had a man to go before the team and chop out all that was necessary to open the passage. His team, a wagon and four horses, was the first that ever crossed Buffalo Creek. He was four days passing through the wilderness to the first house in Pennsylvania." He subsequently settled at Austinburg near the Cuyahoga.

Of all the Protestant missionaries in our region, Elkanah Holmes is foremost in interest, yet data regarding his work among the Senecas and Tuscaroras are very meager. His own letters, printed in the following collection, are the principal source of information about him, but they relate only to his first year in the field. He appears to have lived for a number of years at Schlosser. James Cusick, a Tuscarora, brother of David, told Henry R. Schoolcraft that Elkanah Holmes came to the Tuscaroras in 1807, and that he was their first missionary. "Afterwards, when Mr. Holmes was removed, another missionary was sent to the Tusca-

roras by the American Foreign Mission [?], namely, the Rev. Mr. Grey, who remained until last war [1812]. After his dismissal in 1816, another missionary was sent by the Board of the New York Missionary Society, the Rev. James C. Crane." He adds that succeeding missionaries to the Tuscaroras were the Revs. B. Lane, John Elliot, Joel Wood, Mr. Williams and Gilbert Rockwood, incumbent at the time Mr. Schoolcraft collected data for his "Notes on the Iroquois," 1847. The Baptists organized and built a church on the Tuscarora reservation in 1836, and in 1838 James Cusick was ordained; he preached and established churches among the Six Nations during several years. The Cusicks were able men. Nicholas was an interpreter. David Cusick was probably the only full-blooded Tuscarora author. His pamphlet, a collection of Indian traditions, first published at Lewiston in 1825, is one of the strangest and rarest books relating to our region.

III. REV. DAVID BACON'S VISITS

TO BUFFALO IN 1800 AND 1801.

FROM MEMORANDA BY

THE REV. D. M. COOPER, OF DETROIT.

The Rev. David Bacon left Hartford, Conn., August 8, 1800, to visit the Indian tribes bordering on Lake Erie, according to the resolve of the trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut. His wages were fixed at 110 cents per day, with authority to appoint an interpreter at his discretion, and stated the sum he was to pay, which he says "is more than double he expects to pay." The society made him a present of a small Bible, at a cost of 12s. 9d. The outfit of the missionary for this expedition was of the simplest kind. Afoot and alone he was to make his way towards the wilderness, with no luggage more than he could carry on his person, thankfully accepting any offer of a seat for a few miles in some passing vehicle. Such was the equipment with which the good people of Connecticut sent forth their first missionary to the heathen.

The earliest intelligence from him was in a letter, dated Buffalo Creek, September 4, 1800.* He had not been sick since he left Hartford but two or three days, and then he was able to walk several miles in a day, and says further: "I was much fatigued at first, but can now travel 25 miles in a day with ease. I found opportunity to ride, in the

*Published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, Hartford, Conn., November, 1800.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES

THE FIRST

OF GREAT BRITAIN
BY JOHN HALLAM
ESQ.
OF LINCOLN'S INN
IN TWO VOLUMES
LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD, 1794.
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

whole, about 150 miles. Both the friend and enemies of religion have conducted towards me as though they were commissioned to help me."

He was very kindly received at Canandaigua by Capt. Chapin, the Indian agent at that point, who gave him a string of wampum, and a long and suitable letter to the Seneca chiefs at Buffalo Creek, in order that he might [take] a speech from them to the Western tribes. Capt. Chapin also gave him a letter to his brother who was a merchant at Buffalo Creek. He reached that point September 1st, and found Capt. Chapin's brother, as also the principal sachem and Capt. Johnston, the interpreter. The old sachem,* after learning the purport of the Rev. Bacon's mission, and of his desire for a speech to the western tribes, approved of the proposal, "and said he would notify the chiefs to meet me the following day at one o'clock. Six of them came at the appointed time, and with them Capt. Johnston. The business was soon explained to them, and they listened with the greatest attention, and said they expected to grant my request, but must defer the matter until the second day, that they might have an opportunity to consult among themselves. The second day, when they met us as proposed," their great orator [Red Jacket], in the midst of a large concourse of Indians, delivered a speech to the missionary, and another for him to write down for their Western brethren. They also gave him a curious string of wampum to go with their speech.

Mr. Bacon sailed from Buffalo Creek on the fourth day after the date of the preceding letter, and by a speedy voyage arrived at Detroit on September 11th, thirty-eight days after leaving Hartford. He returned to Hartford about the middle of December, 1800, and reported to the meeting of the trustees on the business of his mission. At that meeting it appears his work met the full approval of the board, and on the 30th December he received his new and enlarged appointment. In the meantime he took a wife. The young couple left Mansfield, Conn., for the West on the 11th Feb-

*Probably Farmer's Brother, who was chief sachem at this time.

THE HISTORY OF THE

...the first of the year, the weather was very cold, and the snow lay deep upon the ground. The people were all dressed in heavy cloaks, and many wore hoods to keep their heads warm. The streets were very quiet, for most of the people were at home, and the shops were closed. The only sound that could be heard was the sound of the wind blowing through the trees. The people who were out in the streets were all going to church, and the church bells were ringing. The people who were at home were all sitting by the fire, and the fire was burning very brightly. The people who were in the shops were all looking at the goods, and the shopkeepers were all trying to sell them. The people who were in the fields were all working, and the fields were very busy. The people who were in the woods were all hunting, and the woods were very quiet. The people who were in the mountains were all climbing, and the mountains were very high. The people who were in the valleys were all walking, and the valleys were very green. The people who were in the rivers were all fishing, and the rivers were very deep. The people who were in the lakes were all swimming, and the lakes were very blue. The people who were in the seas were all sailing, and the seas were very big. The people who were in the sky were all flying, and the sky was very blue. The people who were in the earth were all digging, and the earth was very hard. The people who were in the air were all breathing, and the air was very fresh. The people who were in the water were all swimming, and the water was very clear. The people who were in the fire were all burning, and the fire was very hot. The people who were in the sun were all shining, and the sun was very bright. The people who were in the moon were all shining, and the moon was very bright. The people who were in the stars were all shining, and the stars were very bright. The people who were in the universe were all shining, and the universe was very big.

...the second of the year, the weather was very warm, and the snow had melted. The people were all dressed in light cloaks, and many wore hats to keep their heads cool. The streets were very busy, for most of the people were out, and the shops were open. The only sound that could be heard was the sound of the people talking. The people who were out in the streets were all going to work, and the work was very hard. The people who were at home were all sitting by the fire, and the fire was burning very brightly. The people who were in the shops were all looking at the goods, and the shopkeepers were all trying to sell them. The people who were in the fields were all working, and the fields were very busy. The people who were in the woods were all hunting, and the woods were very quiet. The people who were in the mountains were all climbing, and the mountains were very high. The people who were in the valleys were all walking, and the valleys were very green. The people who were in the rivers were all fishing, and the rivers were very deep. The people who were in the lakes were all swimming, and the lakes were very blue. The people who were in the seas were all sailing, and the seas were very big. The people who were in the sky were all flying, and the sky was very blue. The people who were in the earth were all digging, and the earth was very hard. The people who were in the air were all breathing, and the air was very fresh. The people who were in the water were all swimming, and the water was very clear. The people who were in the fire were all burning, and the fire was very hot. The people who were in the sun were all shining, and the sun was very bright. The people who were in the moon were all shining, and the moon was very bright. The people who were in the stars were all shining, and the stars were very bright. The people who were in the universe were all shining, and the universe was very big.

ruary, 1801. A brother of Mr. Bacon accompanied them and wrote an account of their trip, from which the following extracts are made:

"There was something romantic in leaving home, perhaps never to return, to go to the great West and live among the Indians, learn their language and lead them to God. The weather was very cold, but we did not suffer. We had a good sleigh and two good horses. Although we did not leave Bethlehem until near noon, we were at Canaan before dark; stopped at a noisy country tavern. We were a large company all together in the bar-room; some were drinking, some were swearing, and some telling stories. We had never stayed at such a place before, and it was a new experience. What we here saw was common in nearly all the public houses where we stopped. At that time every thing was done by sleighing. The roads were full. Sometimes we would meet 30 or 40 sleighs loaded with wheat going to Albany and Troy to market. This made travelling to the West rather unpleasant. We, however, got along very well; had fine sleighing until we got to Geneva, where the snow left us. We dragged along on bare ground and mud to East Bloomfield. Here we remained until spring, when the roads were settled. Mrs. Bacon and myself were a kind of wonder to the people of East Bloomfield. That we, so young, should be willing to forsake home and friends and good old Connecticut, and go among the wild sons of the forest they thought strange indeed."

"About the first of April we started for Buffalo, having sold the sleigh and things we could not carry. We had two good horses, and one man's saddle, and a Mackinac blanket for the other horse. Mr. Bacon and wife would ride on two or three miles, while I trotted along on foot, as best I could. After a while he would tie his horse to a tree, and go on with Mrs. Bacon. When I overtook them, I rode on ahead a mile or so, and tied, and then went on again. Thus we did till we reached Detroit, about 250 miles by land. There was no wagon road, only a path through the woods, sometimes rather obscure, the trees marked to show the way.

"We crossed the Genesee River at Rochester, where there

the development of a new system, the system is not yet ready for use. The system is not yet ready for use.

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was only a house for the ferry-man, I think. At Batavia there was only a log tavern. From that to Buffalo there was only one log house. We remained at this log-house over the Sabbath. The next day we reached Buffalo. As the lake was not open we had to remain there a number of weeks. The town was full of Indians, many of them drunk. There was a large village of them on Buffalo Creek. Red Jacket was the chief. Here Mrs. Bacon and I saw for the first time what were then called wild Indians. We were first afraid, but in a short time ceased to fear. They were a miserably degraded specimen of human nature. I thought then there was little hope of doing them good by teaching or preaching. We waited for a vessel to take us to Detroit until we were tired. Then we concluded to go by land and 'ride and tie.' We crossed at Black Rock and went down on the Canada side to Niagara Falls. There was at the Falls a good tavern where we took breakfast, but there was no other house, and I think there was none on the American side. Upper Canada was then almost an unbroken wilderness—no public roads. We came to London on the River Thames. There we had to remain a number of weeks, and were kindly treated."

After that they pursued their journey and arrived at Detroit May 9th, three or four weeks earlier, they say, than would have been possible had they waited for a vessel from Buffalo.

IV.
LETTERS OF THE
REVEREND ELKANAH HOLMES
FROM FORT NIAGARA IN 1800.

HIS WORK AMONG THE TUSCARORAS, THE SENECA,
AND IN BUFFALO.

Efficient and earnest teaching of the Gospel in these parts began with the labors of the Rev. Elkanah Holmes. In the report made by the Board of Directors of the New York Missionary Society at the annual meeting, 1801, the circumstances of his employment are set forth as follows:

"The Society has already been informed of the measures taken by the Directors for accomplishing the desirable purpose of introducing the Gospel and establishing a Christian settlement among the Chickasaw Indians. . . . Their first undertaking having been thus far countenanced by the Lord of the harvest, and their resources being by no means exhausted, the Directors felt it their duty to turn their eyes to some other quarter which might invite a new mission. An event, which they cannot but account providential, pointed out the North-Western Indians, especially the Tuscarora and Seneca nations, as the most proper objects of their next attempt. The New York Baptist Association,

who were already known to some Indian tribes, wishing to carry still farther among them the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, but destitute of the requisite means, recommended the Rev. Elkanah Holmes, one of their number as a suitable missionary. In this gentleman, who had formerly experience of similar service, the Directors found those solid, evangelical principles, that zeal, that natural sagacity and disposition for enterprise, and that acquaintance with Indian character and custom, which rendered him peculiarly fit for the contemplated mission. They accordingly took him into the employment of the Society, and having furnished him with special instructions, set him apart to his work by solemn prayer.

"The Mission being designed both by Mr. Holmes and the Directors, rather as a Mission of experiment than a permanent establishment, he was employed for six months; but not so limited by his appointment as to prevent his spending a longer time in making excursions of inquiry among the remoter tribes. For his compensation, while engaged in this labour of love the Directors have voted a salary at the rate of three hundred and seventy-five dollars per annum, besides his traveling expenses.

"All the accounts which have been received from him, and of him, are singularly gratifying. At Niagara, Mr. Holmes was treated with a politeness and respect by Major Rivardi, the commanding officer, which facilitated his introduction among the Tuscaroras, and merits the gratitude of the Society. This reception by the Indians, both of the Tuscarora and Seneca tribes, has been respectful and affectionate. The principal chief of the latter has proposed to place his grandson under the care of the Society, and has accompanied the proposal with a series of remarks which evince shrewd observation; the most unlimited confidence in the Society; the stress which is laid upon this experiment, and the unspeakable importance of its faithful management and happy termination.

"Mr. Holmes being unacquainted with the language of the Indians to whom he was sent, had no resort but an interpreter. Happily he found among the Tuscarora Indians

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and its history is therefore a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and compromise. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and its history is therefore a history of assimilation and integration. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers, and its history is therefore a history of exploration and discovery. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of inventors, and its history is therefore a history of innovation and progress. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of leaders, and its history is therefore a history of vision and leadership. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of heroes, and its history is therefore a history of courage and sacrifice. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of dreamers, and its history is therefore a history of hope and aspiration. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of believers, and its history is therefore a history of faith and conviction. The eleventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of doers, and its history is therefore a history of action and achievement. The twelfth is the fact that the United States is a nation of thinkers, and its history is therefore a history of reflection and wisdom. The thirteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of feelers, and its history is therefore a history of emotion and passion. The fourteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of learners, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The fifteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of teachers, and its history is therefore a history of guidance and instruction. The sixteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of friends, and its history is therefore a history of friendship and fellowship. The seventeenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of enemies, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and war. The eighteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of lovers, and its history is therefore a history of love and affection. The nineteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of haters, and its history is therefore a history of hatred and animosity. The twentieth is the fact that the United States is a nation of dreamers, and its history is therefore a history of hope and aspiration. The twenty-first is the fact that the United States is a nation of believers, and its history is therefore a history of faith and conviction. The twenty-second is the fact that the United States is a nation of doers, and its history is therefore a history of action and achievement. The twenty-third is the fact that the United States is a nation of thinkers, and its history is therefore a history of reflection and wisdom. The twenty-four is the fact that the United States is a nation of feelers, and its history is therefore a history of emotion and passion. The twenty-fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of learners, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The twenty-six is the fact that the United States is a nation of teachers, and its history is therefore a history of guidance and instruction. The twenty-seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of friends, and its history is therefore a history of friendship and fellowship. The twenty-eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of enemies, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and war. The twenty-ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of lovers, and its history is therefore a history of love and affection. The thirtieth is the fact that the United States is a nation of haters, and its history is therefore a history of hatred and animosity.

from the neighborhood of Stockbridge, one well qualified, named Nicholas Cusick,* and who, he writes, has rendered him eminent service. The Directors allowed him fifteen dollars a month for the interpreter, during his continuance with them.

"Not having heard from Mr. Holmes for some months, they conclude that he has penetrated among the Indians farther west." [A foot-note states: "Mr. Holmes returned a day or two after the meeting of the Society."]

The following documents afford the best account of the work of Mr. Holmes among the Seneca and Tuscarora tribes:

FORT NIAGARA, October 9, 1800.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: Through the goodness and mercy of the Lord, my health is recovered; I have not had a fit of the fever and ague for better than a fortnight. I have preached to the Indians four times this week; every one of the chiefs and a great part of the rest of the tribe, appear very anxious to hear, and very attentive when they do. Their conduct towards me, from the first day that I came among them to the present, has been as kind and friendly, and more so, than I could expect from such real pagans; for they were really so, as much, if not more, than any of the Indian tribes in this part of the world.

Cusock informs me, that their ancient forms of marriage (and what used to be observed by other Indian nations) they have omitted for near one hundred years, and now they have no form of marriage among them. A man takes a woman without any ceremony, and they cohabit together, as long as they can agree, and separate when either of them can suit themselves better. Their children (if they have any when they part in this manner) are often left to suffer; no notice is taken of it by the chiefs, or any of the nation. They have no laws to punish any crime whatsoever among them, except murder; the nearest of kin to the murdered, will kill the murderer: but if that is not done, no one else will concern himself about it. Furthermore, Cusock, who is one of

*Usually so spelled, though Mr. Holmes writes it "Cusock."

the nation, tells me, that there is not a married couple in this village (which consists of better than two hundred souls) nor a legitimate person, old or young. For two or three years past, many of them have begun to reform, especially Sacaresa, the chief sachem. He, with several others, will not work or hunt on the Sabbath: and I expect that they will enter into a covenant before I leave these parts, to observe the Sabbath day in both the villages in this part of the nation. I understand there are about a hundred of the nation that live at Grand River, and about seventy at the Oneida.

One thing more, which I think is to their praise—they are, perhaps, more industrious than any Indian tribe in these parts. Many of the men work in the field (as well as the women) by planting, hoeing, and harvesting their corn, etc., which (I am informed) is not the custom of the Senecas or any of the western tribes, for among them the women do all the work in the field.

I am more encouraged than ever I was, to preach the gospel to the poor creatures. I see more necessity to do it, than ever I did. My soul pities them, and my prayer to God is, that ministers of the gospel, and Christians in general, may be more engaged and encouraged to help them, and enlighten them, poor dark, benighted souls—poor mortals, they are perishing for want of knowledge. Methinks the soul that has experienced the power of redeeming love, and enjoyed the glorious light of the Gospel, cannot help praying for and pitying the poor Indians, who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death.

I expect to set out next Monday to visit the Senecas, if the Lord will, and if they receive me and will hear me, to tarry with them about four weeks, and return from thence to the Tuscaroras, and tarry with them until the first of December, and then set off from this place to visit a village of the Senecas, called Tantawanta, thirty miles from this, on my way to New Stockbridge, and to the Tuscaroras in that neighborhood, and from thence to Brothertown, and from thence, by way of Albany, home.

Cusock, who is now with me, and is (I believe) a pious

soul, and a careful and good interpreter, must go home about the first of December, and I can do nothing without him here; there is no one in these parts that I can trust to interpret for me, when he is gone.

The inclosed address, I believe, is a faithful one. The chiefs, by the help of Cusock, have been above three weeks preparing it. It would have been signed and sent to you sooner, but the sachem and two of the chiefs were called to a great council with the Senecas. The subject matter of the council, and the result, has been something extraordinary, which I purpose to inform you of hereafter.

Excuse mistakes. I have not time to revise or correct what I have wrote—the mail will be closed in a few minutes. I must not forget to mention that Major Rivardi has conducted towards me like a gentleman and a disinterested friend. I wish that the Directors would return him their thanks for his and his worthy Lady's kind treatment to me, and my beloved Cusock.

Now, dear brother, I must conclude, desiring that you and all my ministering brethren in New-York, would praise God for his goodness to me, and pray for me.

May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

ELKANAH HOLMES.

REV. J. M. MASON,
Secretary to the Directors of the Missionary Society.

[ENCLOSURE IN ABOVE LETTER:]

ADDRESS OF THE TUSCARORA CHIEFS, TO THE DIRECTORS
OF THE NEW YORK MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

FATHERS AND BROTHERS: Attend! We the Sachems and Chiefs of the Tuscarora nation of Indians, desire to speak a few words to your ears: we thank the Great Spirit above, who made Heaven and earth, and all things, that he has put into the hearts of a number of our white brothers in the City of New-York and parts around it, to form a great council of friendship for us and for the rest of our red brothers.

Fathers and brothers: We also thank you for the good

talks you send us by the hand of our father Elkanah Holmes. It much rejoices our nation, both old and young. We also thank you that you send our father Holmes to visit us. We know he is a true friend to Indians, and we love to hear him open his mouth to speak about the Great Spirit above.

Fathers and brothers: We should be very glad to have our father Holmes live among us, or some other good man that you would send to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the Bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant—we poor. Now fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Not but two in our nation can read in the good book, the Bible. We wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civil and happy when we are gone—that they may understand the good speech better than we can: we feel much sorrow for our children—we ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us, and our poor children, and send a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him, we will do all we can to make him happy—we are poor, we cannot pay him in money or anything else.

Fathers and brothers: We think many good people, that did not want to cheat the Indians, and get their lands for nothing, but do them all the good they could, by learning them to read the good book, and sending good men among them with the good speech on their tongues, to teach them the meaning of the Great Spirit in the good book, have often been discouraged, and stop because many Indians would not open their ears, but would go in ways of the evil spirit. We are sorry Indians have done so—we are afraid some of us shall do so too, and the Great Spirit will be angry with us, and that you will be discouraged, and stop, and say, "Let them alone, there is nothing can be done with Indians."

Fathers and brothers: Hearken—we cry to you from the wilderness—our hearts ache while we speak to your ears. If such wicked things should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged—don't stop—think poor Indians must die as well as white men. We pray you, therefore,

The first of these was the fact that the United States had a large and growing population. In 1790, the population of the United States was about 3.9 million. By 1800, it had grown to about 4 million. By 1810, it had grown to about 5.3 million. By 1820, it had grown to about 7.6 million. By 1830, it had grown to about 12.3 million. By 1840, it had grown to about 17.1 million. By 1850, it had grown to about 23.2 million. By 1860, it had grown to about 31.2 million. By 1870, it had grown to about 38.6 million. By 1880, it had grown to about 50.2 million. By 1890, it had grown to about 62.9 million. By 1900, it had grown to about 76.2 million. By 1910, it had grown to about 92 million. By 1920, it had grown to about 106 million. By 1930, it had grown to about 122 million. By 1940, it had grown to about 137 million. By 1950, it had grown to about 152 million. By 1960, it had grown to about 179 million. By 1970, it had grown to about 203 million. By 1980, it had grown to about 226 million. By 1990, it had grown to about 248 million. By 2000, it had grown to about 269 million. By 2010, it had grown to about 291 million. By 2020, it had grown to about 314 million.

The second of these was the fact that the United States had a large and growing economy. In 1790, the GDP of the United States was about \$1.5 billion. By 1800, it had grown to about \$2 billion. By 1810, it had grown to about \$3 billion. By 1820, it had grown to about \$5 billion. By 1830, it had grown to about \$8 billion. By 1840, it had grown to about \$12 billion. By 1850, it had grown to about \$18 billion. By 1860, it had grown to about \$25 billion. By 1870, it had grown to about \$35 billion. By 1880, it had grown to about \$50 billion. By 1890, it had grown to about \$70 billion. By 1900, it had grown to about \$100 billion. By 1910, it had grown to about \$150 billion. By 1920, it had grown to about \$200 billion. By 1930, it had grown to about \$300 billion. By 1940, it had grown to about \$400 billion. By 1950, it had grown to about \$550 billion. By 1960, it had grown to about \$700 billion. By 1970, it had grown to about \$900 billion. By 1980, it had grown to about \$1,100 billion. By 1990, it had grown to about \$1,300 billion. By 2000, it had grown to about \$1,500 billion. By 2010, it had grown to about \$1,700 billion. By 2020, it had grown to about \$1,900 billion.

The third of these was the fact that the United States had a large and growing military. In 1790, the United States had about 10,000 soldiers. By 1800, it had grown to about 15,000. By 1810, it had grown to about 20,000. By 1820, it had grown to about 25,000. By 1830, it had grown to about 30,000. By 1840, it had grown to about 35,000. By 1850, it had grown to about 40,000. By 1860, it had grown to about 45,000. By 1870, it had grown to about 50,000. By 1880, it had grown to about 55,000. By 1890, it had grown to about 60,000. By 1900, it had grown to about 65,000. By 1910, it had grown to about 70,000. By 1920, it had grown to about 75,000. By 1930, it had grown to about 80,000. By 1940, it had grown to about 85,000. By 1950, it had grown to about 90,000. By 1960, it had grown to about 95,000. By 1970, it had grown to about 100,000. By 1980, it had grown to about 105,000. By 1990, it had grown to about 110,000. By 2000, it had grown to about 115,000. By 2010, it had grown to about 120,000. By 2020, it had grown to about 125,000.

The fourth of these was the fact that the United States had a large and growing navy. In 1790, the United States had about 10 ships. By 1800, it had grown to about 15. By 1810, it had grown to about 20. By 1820, it had grown to about 25. By 1830, it had grown to about 30. By 1840, it had grown to about 35. By 1850, it had grown to about 40. By 1860, it had grown to about 45. By 1870, it had grown to about 50. By 1880, it had grown to about 55. By 1890, it had grown to about 60. By 1900, it had grown to about 65. By 1910, it had grown to about 70. By 1920, it had grown to about 75. By 1930, it had grown to about 80. By 1940, it had grown to about 85. By 1950, it had grown to about 90. By 1960, it had grown to about 95. By 1970, it had grown to about 100. By 1980, it had grown to about 105. By 1990, it had grown to about 110. By 2000, it had grown to about 115. By 2010, it had grown to about 120. By 2020, it had grown to about 125.

The fifth of these was the fact that the United States had a large and growing air force. In 1790, the United States had about 10 aircraft. By 1800, it had grown to about 15. By 1810, it had grown to about 20. By 1820, it had grown to about 25. By 1830, it had grown to about 30. By 1840, it had grown to about 35. By 1850, it had grown to about 40. By 1860, it had grown to about 45. By 1870, it had grown to about 50. By 1880, it had grown to about 55. By 1890, it had grown to about 60. By 1900, it had grown to about 65. By 1910, it had grown to about 70. By 1920, it had grown to about 75. By 1930, it had grown to about 80. By 1940, it had grown to about 85. By 1950, it had grown to about 90. By 1960, it had grown to about 95. By 1970, it had grown to about 100. By 1980, it had grown to about 105. By 1990, it had grown to about 110. By 2000, it had grown to about 115. By 2010, it had grown to about 120. By 2020, it had grown to about 125.

The sixth of these was the fact that the United States had a large and growing space program. In 1790, the United States had about 10 space missions. By 1800, it had grown to about 15. By 1810, it had grown to about 20. By 1820, it had grown to about 25. By 1830, it had grown to about 30. By 1840, it had grown to about 35. By 1850, it had grown to about 40. By 1860, it had grown to about 45. By 1870, it had grown to about 50. By 1880, it had grown to about 55. By 1890, it had grown to about 60. By 1900, it had grown to about 65. By 1910, it had grown to about 70. By 1920, it had grown to about 75. By 1930, it had grown to about 80. By 1940, it had grown to about 85. By 1950, it had grown to about 90. By 1960, it had grown to about 95. By 1970, it had grown to about 100. By 1980, it had grown to about 105. By 1990, it had grown to about 110. By 2000, it had grown to about 115. By 2010, it had grown to about 120. By 2020, it had grown to about 125.

never to give over and leave poor Indians, but follow them in dark times, and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more.

Fathers and brothers: Once more attend. According to your request, in your talk to us we have opened our ears. The talks of our father Holmes makes us glad when he speaks, although he has been very unwell part of the time since he has been with us; sometimes he must lie down on the bed when he speaks about the Great Spirit to us. We have used him as kind as we were able—we are poor. When he goes to visit our brothers (the Senecas) we will make his path as smooth as we can; some of us will go with him; we will be children to him.

Fathers and brothers: We will send you talks as often as we can. We are glad you say you wish always to keep the chain of friendship bright and shining; we wish so too—we and our forefathers have been long under dark clouds; no friends to help us to know the will of the Good Spirit. We will now believe you to be our friends; we will open our ears to any good men you send among us; we will use them kind; and we let you know we are pleased with all you say; and that we speak one heart to you by delivering eight strings of wampum to you, according to the custom of our forefathers, by our father Holmes, who will give them to you, and tell you more about us than we can write. May the Great Spirit help us to remember each other.

Farewell.

SACARESE X, Sachem.

WILLIAM X PRENTUP, Chief Warrior.

ISAAC X CHARLES, Warrior Chief.

LONG X BOARD, Warrior Chief.

ISAAC X, Warrior Chief.

HENDRICK X, Second Sachem.

KAASONTAW X SAGOGHWIHEAGH, Warrior Chief.

GEORGE X PRENTUP, Warrior Chief.

BILLA X PRENTUP, Warrior Chief.

Witnesses: NICHOLAS CUSOCK. THOMAS X GREEN.

NIAGARA, TUSCARORA, October 6, 1800.

FROM MAJOR RIVARDI, COMMANDING AT FORT NIAGARA.

FORT NIAGARA, October 8, 1800.

I Certify, that the Chiefs of the Tuscaroras convened at this post, have, in my presence, expressed an ardent wish of having a school established at their village. Such a measure, if it coincides with the views of Government, would no doubt enable the rising generation of the Tuscaroras to advance rapidly towards civilization.

The Rev. Mr. Holmes seems to have gained the confidence and affection of the chiefs. He deserves it by the pains which he takes to inculcate in them principles of morality. That he may be successful is the sincere wish of

T. I. ULRICH RIVARDI.

MR. HOLMES TO SECRETARY MASON.

FORT NIAGARA, October 29, 1800.

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER: Through the kind providence of God, I arrived the 14th of this instant at the Seneca Castle, five miles above where the Buffaloe empties into Lake Erie. Immediately (with Cusock my interpreter) I waited on the chief sachem (called Farmer's Brother) and made known my business to him and desired the favor of him, and the chiefs of the nation, to meet me in council. He informed me that he had heard of me before, and that he would consult the chiefs, and, as soon as they could be ready, he would let me know it. I then took my leave of him, leaving Cusock to tarry in the town, and rode to a village of white people, consisting of five or six families, at the mouth of the Buffaloe.

On Friday following, Cusock came to me, and informed me, that the chiefs had concluded to meet in council in the afternoon of that day, and had sent him to desire me to attend. I proceeded without delay to the castle. When I arrived I found the sachems and chiefs with about one hundred Indians, assembled in the council-house, and about fifty more round the house. A few minutes after I was seated, Red Jacket, the second sachem, addressed me in a short speech, complimenting me, according to their custom, upon my ar-

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language. The paper then goes on to discuss the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.

The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language. The paper then goes on to discuss the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.

The third part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language. The paper then goes on to discuss the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances.

rival, and letting me know that they were now ready to hear what I had to say to them.

I then rose, and addressed him as I thought proper, and delivered the talk (as they stile it) from the Directors of the Missionary Society. And after Cusock had interpreted it to him, I made a few more observations, and presented the talk from the Oneida and Muhheconnuk* chiefs. And when Cusock had interpreted that, I addressed him again as I judged the case required, and concluded by letting him know that I was ready to speak more fully to them about the Great Spirit above, and Jesus Christ, whom he had sent into the world to save sinners, if they would consent to hear me; and desired them to consider the talks that had been sent to them, and what I had said, and give me an answer as soon as they thought proper. Whilst I was speaking to them, a number of their young men made a great laugh, and lay down, kicked up their heels, and one made a very indecent report. I endeavored to keep from being discomposed. The chiefs did not appear to approve of their conduct, and at the conclusion of my address, they were very silent.

The chiefs consulted about half an hour, and then Red Jacket replied to me in a very decent manner and in flattering language, stiling me Father of the Six Nations, expressing their joy at the good talk that had been sent them by the Good Society of Friendship at New-York, and from their brothers the Oneidas, Muhheconnuks, and Tuscaroras, and at what I had said unto them; that they were all convinced that there was no snare or deceit in my business—and concluded with saying they were all willing that I should speak the good word to them, and desired that I would preach to them the next day, at 12 o'clock, about Jesus Christ. I then replied, expressing my joy and thankfulness for their condescension, and my readiness to comply with their request. I then took my leave of them and returned to Buffaloe.

The next day being an uncommon rainy day, I looked

* Mohegan.

upon it no ways consistent with duty for me to turn out, or any ways probable, if I did, that the Indians would; but the next day, being Lord's day, I set out early in the morning, and with much difficulty reached the Castle about 12 o'clock, the waters being raised so high by the rain, I had to swim my beast twice by the side of a canoe.* I waited upon the chief sachem; he consulted some of the chiefs, and they concluded that the people could not be notified so as to meet that day, but that they would meet the next day at 12 o'clock, and desired me to attend. I let him know that it would be a pleasure to me to comply with their request.

The next day I met about one hundred of them in the council-house; as they had never been acquainted with any modes of Christian worship (for I understand, that they never would admit a missionary among them before) I proceeded with them in the same manner as in a common council, as you may see by the inclosed, dated the 20th of this instant—and the day following at Buffaloe, the chief sachem, and several of their principal men, met me, where he made the inclosed speech of that date.

Last Lord's day I preached to them again at the Castle. Then I undertook to inform them of the modes and customs of Christians in public worship; of keeping the Sabbath; the duty of prayer; and, lastly, I endeavored to preach the doctrine of repentance. During the whole, they gave good attention. One of the chiefs appeared to be under solemn impressions. After I concluded, Red Jacket thanked me and requested me to visit them again next month, and say more to them about Jesus Christ.

At Buffaloe, where I made my home whilst I was visiting the Senecas, I preached seven or eight times to the white people on evenings. They never had but one sermon preached in the place before.

I left Buffaloe last Monday and reached this place yes-

*This is probably the first mention in history of a flood in Buffalo Creek, at what is now South Buffalo, an event which has been repeated once or more every year since the visit of Missionary Holmes. It may be noted that the inundations were disastrous, long before the channel was obstructed by piers or abutments of bridges.

terday in great hopes of seeing my worthy friend Major Rivardi before he left the place; but alas! I was two hours too late. He is removed from the command of this post, and one Major Porter now commands here.

I purpose, if the Lord will, to be with the Tuscaroras until the middle of next month, and then to return to the Senecas, and continue with them until winter.

I have had my trials and my joys since I left New-York. The Senecas are great Pagans. They sacrifice white dogs to the Great Spirit, as they call the Supreme Being. They worship him by dances, which last two or three days. They keep certain days of feasting. They have forms of marriage among them, but seldom observe them. They are very incontinent. Many of them are great drunkards. But, as I expect to procure a more full account of their ways and customs, by a certain person that has lived above twenty years among them,* I omit saying any more for the present.

I must conclude, but not without requesting the continuation of your prayers to God for me. With esteem, I am, dear sir, I hope, your Brother in Christ.

ELKANAH HOLMES.

REV. J. M. MASON,
Secretary to the Directors of the Missionary Society.

[ENCLOSURE WITH THE ABOVE:]

The following address was made to me by Red Jacket, the second sachem of the Seneca Nation, on Monday, the 20th day of October, 1800, in the Council House, at the Seneca Castle—it being the second public meeting that I have had with the Nation:

“FATHER: We are extremely happy that the Great Good Spirit has permitted us to meet together this day. We have paid attention to all that you spoke to our ears at our last meeting. We thank the Great Spirit, who has put it into the minds of the great society of friendship at New York, to send you to visit us. We also hope that the Great Spirit will always have his eyes over that good society, to

*Most likely Horatio Jones.

strengthen their minds to have friendship towards the poor natives of this Island. We thank the Great Spirit, that he has smoothed your way, and has protected you through the rugged paths, and prevented any briars or thorns from pricking your feet. As you came on your way to visit us, you called on our brothers (the Oneidas, Muhheconnuks and Tuscaroras) who were well acquainted with you. We thank them for the pains they have taken in sending this good talk with wampum. [At the same time holding the talk and wampum in his hand.] We are convinced that what they say of you is true, that you came purely out of love to do us good, and for nothing else; and that there is no deceit in your business, or in the good people that sent you.

"Father: We now request you to speak something to us about Jesus Christ, and we will give attention."

He then addressed his people and requested them to give good attention to what I was about to say, and make no noise, but behave in a becoming manner.

I then proceeded and endeavored to preach Christ to them. When I had concluded, Red Jacket rose and made the following speech to me, after consulting the chiefs:

"Father: We thank the Great Good Spirit above, for what you have spoken to us at this time, and hope he will always incline your heart, and strengthen you to this good work. We have clearly understood you, and this is all the truth you have said to us.

"Father: We believe that there is a Great Being above, who has made Heaven and earth and all things that are therein, and has the charge over all things—who has made you whites as well as us Indians; and we believe there is something great after death.

"Father: What you say about our loving the Great Spirit, we know to be truth, as he has his eyes over all things, and watches all our movements and ways, and hears all we say, and knows all we do.

"Father: We Indians are astonished at you whites, that when Jesus Christ was among you, and went about

doing good, speaking the good word, healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, that you white people did not pay attention to him, and believe him, and that you put him to death when you had the good book in your possession.

"Father: That we Indians were not near to this transaction, or could we be guilty of it.

"Father: Probably the Great Spirit has given to you white people the ways that you follow to serve him, and to get your living: and probably he has given to us Indians the customs that we follow to serve him (handed down to us by our forefathers) and our ways to get our living by hunting, and the Great Spirit is still good to us, to preserve game for us. And, father, you well know, you white people are very fond of our skins.

"Father: You and your good people know that ever since the white people came on this island, they have always been getting our lands from us for little or nothing.

"Father: Perhaps if we had had such good people as you and your Society to have stepped in and advised us Indians, we and our forefathers would not have been so deceived by the white people, for you have the great and good God always in your sight.

"Father: We repeat it again—we wish you and the good people of your Society, to make your minds perfectly easy, for we like what you say, and we thank the good Society for their good intentions, and that they have sent you to visit us.

"Father: You do not come like those that have come with a bundle under their arms, or something in their hands, but we have always found something of deceit under it, for they are always aiming at our lands; but you have not come like one of those; you have come like a father, and a true friend, to advise us for our good; we are convinced that there is no snare in your business; we hope that our talk to you at this time, will be communicated to your good Society at New York, and that the Good Spirit will protect you and them in this good work that you and they have undertaken; and we expect that the bright chain of friendship shall al-

ways exist between us; and we will do everything in our power to keep that chain bright from time to time."

He then took up the strings of wampum that accompany this talk, and continued his speech to me as follows:

"Father: You and your good Society well know that when learning was first introduced among Indians, they became small, and two or three nations have become extinct, and we know not what is become of them; and it was also introduced to our eldest brothers the Mohawks; we immediately observed, that their seats began to be small; which was likewise the case with our brothers the Oneidas. Let us look back to the situation of our nephews, the Muhheconuks; they were totally routed away from their seats. This is the reason why we think learning would be of no service to us.

"Father: We are astonished that the white people, who have the good book called the Bible among them, that tells them the mind and will of the Great Spirit, and they can read it and understand it, that they are so bad, and do so many wicked things, and that they are no better.

"Father: We know that what you have said to us, is perfectly good and true. We here (pointing to himself and the Farmer's Brother) cannot see that learning would be of any service to us; but we will leave it to others who come after us, to judge for themselves.

"Father: If it should be introduced among us at present there might more intrigue or craft creep in among us; it might be the means of our fairing the same misfortunes of our brothers; our seat is but small now; and if we were to leave this place, we would not know where to find another; we do not think we should be able to find a seat among our western brothers.

"Father: We repeat it again. We hope that you and your good Society will make your minds perfectly easy, for we are convinced that your intentions are good."

He then presented me seven strings of wampum, saying, "We wish that this may be delivered with our speech, to your good Society that sent you to visit us."

We the subscribers, assisted as interpreters when the foregoing address was delivered, and assisted the Rev. Elkanah Holmes to commit it to writing—And do hereby certify, That the above is as near to the phraseology and ideas of the speaker, as we are able to recollect.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
NICHOLAS CUSOCK.

The following address was delivered to me the 21st day of October, 1800, by Farmer's Brother (Chief Sachem of the Seneca Nation) at the house of Mr. John Palmer, at Buffaloe, it being the third public meeting I have had with them:

"FATHER: We wish you now to attend. We thank the Great Good Spirit, that we have an opportunity to meet together this day. We have something more to say to you. Yesterday after we heard your good talk, we had not time to speak all that we had to say to your ears.

"Father: We now address ourselves to you and your good Society. There have been several applications made to our nations by the government of the United States and the Quakers, to send some of our youth to them to get learning.

"Father: We felt ourselves at that time very happy, that such loving union and friendship did take place between the white people of the United States and us.

"Father: I then gave up one of my grandsons to the United States to get learning, in hopes that this youth, when he got learning, would be of great service to our nations, to inform us of the good customs and ways of the white people. What we agreed upon was, that he was to remain with them five years; thinking by that time he would gain knowledge of the good ways and manners of the white people. Two years after he had been at Philadelphia, I and a number of other chiefs of our nation went there upon public business. When I arrived there I was anxious to see my grandson. And how was I surprised when I first saw him—he was in a tavern. The next place I saw him at, was in a house, gaming. And further I saw him in a bad

house, where were bad women. What was my astonishment to see him in such company, and he but only a boy yet. And besides, I saw him dancing in a house where they teach dancing. Then all my expectations fell of thinking he would ever be of any service to our nations, for we know of no such things among us, of boys of such age as he was, going into such company and following such bad ways.

"Father: Some time after I returned home, I had business to Genesee, where some of my people lived, where I found this young man in soldier's dress. The first request he made to me was, for two miles square of land, to support him to go about and attend to other business.

"Father: While this grandson of mine was at school, we were looking to see how he would turn out; intending if he did well, to send several more of our youth to be learned by the white people; but finding he has turned out so bad, our hearts fell, concluding that if we send more of our boys, and they should learn such bad ways as he had, that our land would be cut into small pieces, and our nation dispersed and ruined.

"Father: We have now a particular favor to ask of you and your good Society. I have a mind to try once more. I have another grandson which we wish that you and your Society would take under your protection, and learn him the good customs of white people, and keep him from all the bad ways, for we believe from the good words we have heard from your mouth, and the good talk sent to us by your good Society, that if you and they will be so kind as to favor us poor Indians by accepting this boy to teach him the good ways that you know and practice, we are in great hopes that he will be of great use to us Indians, by telling us of your good ways, to open our eyes to see how to walk in your good paths.

"Father: If you and your good Society will accept of this boy and take him under your care to instruct him, we will not undertake to direct you what you shall learn him, for we give him up altogether in your hands, to do with him as you shall think best, for we believe you are all good,

wise men, and that you pity Indians, and know what will be for our good, and what to do with this boy better than we can tell you.

"Father: You and your good Society know, that we Indians are poor. We are convinced that it is very expensive to give learning to youth. We think that you are so good, and have the welfare of Indians so much in your heart, that you will not expect us to pay anything for the education of this boy, for we are so poor that we are not able.

"Father: We have now fully explained our mind to you about the business that we had not time to mention to you yesterday. And we now pray that the Great Good Spirit may bless you and the good Society that sent you to visit us; and that he will protect you on your journey; and that you may not meet with any difficulty on the way, nor fall over any stumbling-block to hurt you; but that you may arrive safe to see your good Society, and that you may have a joyful meeting, and find your children all in good health.

"Father: We also pray that the Good Spirit may always have his eyes over this boy that we now give up to you and your good Society, and that you may have it in your power to plant good things in him. We now deliver these strings of wampum to you, to accompany our talk to that great and good Society at New York, that sent you to visit us."

We the subscribers, assisted as interpreters when the foregoing Address was delivered, and assisted the Rev. Elkanah Holmes to commit it to writing—And do hereby certify, That the above is as near to the phraseology and ideas of the speaker, as we are able to recollect.

WILLIAM JOHNSTON,
NICHOLAS CUSOCK.

The foregoing application to me was very unexpected at the time, but I returned for answer to the sachem, that I was not prepared to take the boy home with me at my own expense, but if they would fit him out, and be at the ex-

pense of taking him to New-York, I would venture to take charge of him this winter, and until next summer, and if the Directors of the Missionary Society did not think proper to accept of him, I would endeavor that he should be returned to them again without any further expence.

He is to be amply provided for with clothes and money to go with me to New-York, according to my proposal. He is between thirteen and fourteen years of age. He is of the first family in the nation, by his mother's side, and, therefore, is now a chief, according to the custom of the nation, and will be entitled to the first place in the nation, if he lives and does well. His father is a white man, a half-pay officer in the British service. His mother was part white, and the boy so white, that he would scarcely be suspected to be any ways related to the Indians. He speaks English very well. He has been to school, and I am told can read and write considerably well for such a boy. He is very active and sensible, and appears to be of a good disposition. He is well recommended to me by several white people. For these and several other reasons, I was induced to accept of him in the manner I have mentioned. I hope it will meet with the approbation of the Directors of the Missionary Society, and with the blessing of God.

ELKANAH HOLMES.

NOTE.—Prior to coming to Western New York as missionary Elkanah Holmes had compiled a small book entitled "A Church Covenant; including a summary of the Fundamental Doctrines of the Gospel." (New York: Printed by John Ticbout, at Homer's head, No. 358, Pearl Street. For the compiler, 1797.) His characteristic independence is shown in the preface, in which, after stating that his compendium of faith and church order is compiled from different authors, he says: "I have not only presumed to abridge, but even ventured to add a few articles of my own composition. Besides, I have arranged the passages of Scripture, throughout the whole, in such order, as to me appeared most likely to assist the reader in determining whether the doctrines advanced are agreeable to the word of God or not. Whatever errors are in it, they are mine; no one is to blame for them but myself; I have adopted the whole as my present creed. I have concluded to venture (if the Lord will) to live and to die in the faith that I have herein advanced." It is highly probable that a work into which he had put so much earnestness, was Mr. Holmes's companion in his missionary work on Buffalo Creek and among the Tuscaroras. Its perusal reveals the character of his teachings. It and the missionary's Bible were, plausibly, the first books brought to Buffalo. A fac-simile of the title page is given herewith, from a copy in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

A
CHURCH COVENANT

INCLUDING A SUMMARY

OF THE

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES

OF THE

G O S P E L

COMPILED

By *ELKANAH HOLMES.*

So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God.

ROM xiv 12.

Find up the Testimony, seal the Law among my Disciples.

To the Law, and to the Testimony — ISAI. viii. 16, 20.

NEW-YORK

Printed by JOHN TIEBOUT, at HOMER'S HEAD,
No. 358, PEARL-STREET,
FOR THE COMPILER.

1797

[Elkanah Holmes' work: Fac-simile of title page. See p. 204.]

V.

VISIT OF REV. LEMUEL COVELL

TO WESTERN NEW YORK AND CANADA,
IN THE FALL OF 1803.

The Rev. Lemuel Covell of Pittstown, Rensselaer Co., New York, and Elder Obed Warren of Salem, made a missionary tour through Western New York and into Canada, in the fall of 1803, under the auspices of the Shaftsbury Baptist Association. This association was made up of Baptist churches in Western Massachusetts, Southern Vermont and Rensselaer and Saratoga counties, New York. Constituted in 1780, by 1798 the body numbered forty-seven churches, twenty-eight ministers and 3460 communicants. As early as 1801, while yet some of the territory embraced in the organization had scarcely emerged from a pioneer condition, the attention of the Shaftsbury Association was turned to the field for missionary work to the westward. In the year named Mr. Covell proposed that a fund be raised by contribution, "for the purpose of sending missionaries to preach the gospel in destitute parts of our frontier settlements, and as far as we may have opportunity among the natives of the wilderness." This was the first step toward systematic missionary effort in Western New York, on the part of the Baptists, and was anticipated among other orthodox denominations only by the Presbyterians who, as we have seen, were represented in the field in 1800 by Elkanah Holmes—himself a Baptist. No one appears to have under-

taken a missionary tour to the westward for the Shaftsbury Association until 1802, in which year Caleb Blood made a journey of ten weeks, "through the country from Cayuga to the head of Lake Ontario," for which he received \$30, and expended \$22.34 on his mission. The editor of this volume has seen no detailed narrative of Elder Blood's journey. Mr. Covell left a pretty full journal* of the tour on which he and Obed Warren set out from Pittstown, August 23, 1803. That portion of the journal which bears on our immediate field is (with some indicated omissions) as follows:

Monday, 19th [Sept.]: We . . . crossed the Genesee river, and rode together to a small settlement, called Ganson's Settlement; where Brother Warren stopped to preach in the evening, and I rode alone to Batavia, a small village, about 24 miles west of Genesee river; where I preached in the evening, and stayed all night.

Tuesday, 20th. Brother Warren arrived about eleven o'clock in the morning; and about one in the afternoon we set off to ride through what is called the Eighteen Mile Woods. We had not proceeded far before it began to rain. This was the first time we had any rain to ride in since we left home. We were in the wilderness, without house or shelter, all the afternoon; and most of the time it rained excessively. We were soaked to the skin with water, and had very muddy riding. A little after sunset, we arrived at a tavern, just at the end of the long woods, kept by a Mr. Van Deventer. Here we found the house full of people, who had been doing town business, and were detained by the excessive rain; many of whom lived at such a distance, they could not get home that night. When we arrived they were in a very high and merry mood—some singing foolish songs—some laughing loud—some swear-

*"A Narrative of a Missionary Tour through the Western Settlements of the State of New York, and into the Southwestern parts of the Province of Upper Canada: Performed by Lemuel Covell, of Pittstown, in company with Elder Obed Warren, of Salem, in the Fall of 1803; With an Appendix, containing several Speeches to and from the Indians." Pittstown, 1804. Printed as Chap. IV., in "Memoir of the late Rev. Lemuel Covell, missionary to the Tuscarora Indians," etc., by Mrs. D. C. Brown; Brandon [Vt.], 1839.

ing—and some almost helpless: all seemed to feel, more or less, the effects of whiskey. In the midst of such a revel we could not expect to enjoy much tranquility. We were determined, however, to try how far a portion of *truth* might prove an antidote to the disorder that seemed so prevalent among them. As soon as our poor suffering horses were provided for, we informed the people of the house that we were missionaries; and that, as Providence had cast our lot among them for the night, we were willing to preach to them, if they were disposed to give their attention. The landlord made known to them our proposal, which had its desired effect. Their carnal mirth stopped, almost in an instant; they expressed a willingness to hear preaching; and within fifteen minutes there was almost a profound silence, in place of so much noise and confusion. As soon as the necessary preparations were made, I went to preaching, in wet clothes, without changing a single article of them for dry ones, and had a very comfortable time in preaching, and a very attentive assembly. After sermon a few of them went away, and the remainder treated us with all the civility and respect due to our character. This we venture to record as one evidence of the benefit resulting to society from a preached gospel, even in this world. That which will calm such tumultuous assemblies, so that sober men can enjoy peace, must be truly beneficial.

Wednesday, 21st. We rode to Buffalo, a small village, at the mouth of a creek of that name, just at the foot of Lake Erie; where, to our inexpressible joy, we met with Elder Elkanah Holmes, missionary to the northwestern Indians, and his lady, who received us with the utmost civility. This, however, was not the place of their residence—that being at Fort Slusher,* about 27 miles down the Niagara river; but Elder Holmes was waiting at Buffalo for an answer from the Seneca nation of Indians, who were holding a council at their village, about five or six miles up the Buffalo creek, on the subject of building a house at their said village for public worship, and for educating their children.

*Fort Schlosser.

We intended to have crossed the Niagara river, into the province of Upper Canada, the next day; but Mr. Holmes was not willing we should leave him till he had received his answer from the Indians; and we also had a mind to stay and hear it. We put up our horses where they might be recruiting a little, and spent three days in this place; during which time, we preached twice to the people, and had much agreeable conversation with Mr. Holmes. There is no stated meeting for religious worship held in this place, nor any religious society formed.

On Saturday the 24th, Red Jacket, the chief sachem of the Senecas, waited on Mr. Holmes, to inform him that they had pretty much got through with their consultations, and concluded to have the house built. After hearing this message, we took leave of Mr. Holmes, and agreed to attend with him, at the Tuscarora village, the next Saturday. This afternoon we crossed over to Fort Erie, in the British dominions, and put up at Doctor Chapin's, a gentleman from the State of New York, who resides there. The Doctor and his lady treated us with the utmost friendship and hospitality.

Lord's Day, 25th. We went about two miles down the river, where the people were notified to attend public worship. There was a pretty large assembly, considering the situation of the place; and the people gave very strict attention while we both preached—the one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon.

Monday, 26th. We set out this morning upon a tour down the river, and spent the week, till Friday night, in riding and preaching from one place to another, along the river and its vicinity. In the course of this week we formed an acquaintance with a number of people who treated us with the utmost friendship and hospitality and did everything in their power to afford us such information and assistance as was necessary and useful to us in the prosecution of our mission. Among others, a Mr. Archibald Thompson, who lives at Stamford,* about seven or eight

*Stamford, Ont.

miles below the Great Falls, was peculiarly serviceable to us. He nursed our horses in the best manner—found us horses to ride, accompanied us himself where we went, in many instances; in short, he seemed anxious that nothing should be lacking on his part to render the place agreeable to us, and enable us to be serviceable to the people. Besides him, many others in the same place were very kind. About two miles from the village of Newark* lives a gentleman by the name of Sweezy, a member of the provincial parliament in this province, who distinguished himself as our friend. On Friday of this week, Brother Warren preached at his house, by his particular request. While we were there, we were treated with peculiar friendship; and at evening he and his lady accompanied us to Queenston, where we had an appointment for evening preaching. After worship, when he took his leave of us, he insisted we must visit him again before we left the province; and solicited hard that one or both of us should preach at Newark as soon as we could make it convenient. This night we lodged at a Mr. Rose's in Queenston, where we received every mark of friendship that could be shown. Mr. Rose and his lady were formerly from New England; they are neither of them professors of religion, but they behaved toward us in a Christian-like manner.

Saturday, Oct. 1st. This morning we crossed the Niagara river at Queenston Ferry, and went about half a mile up the river, to a Major Beech's, where we met Elder Holmes, and went with him to the Tuscarora village, about three miles from this place. We spent the afternoon very agreeably, with the Indians, and at evening returned to Major Beech's and took refreshment. Brother Warren crossed the river again this evening, in order to spend the Sabbath at Stanford, and I concluded to stay and spend the Sabbath with Elder Holmes, among the Indians.

Lord's Day, 2d. After breakfast we went to the village; the Indians, at their usual time, assembled, and Elder Holmes delivered them a very excellent discourse, which

*Now Niagara, Ont., called Niagara-on-the-Lake.

was interpreted to them in due order. After a short pause, I delivered them a speech; signifying that, as I was sent out by the Shaftsbury Association, as a missionary, I had called to see our Indian brethren, and form an acquaintance with them; and, if it met their approbation, to instruct them in the Gospel. I was answered by their chief warrior in a short but very pertinent speech, expressive of their thanks to the Great Spirit, for putting it into the hearts of the white people to visit them, and instruct them for their good; and likewise to my brethren for sending missionaries to visit them and to me for calling to see them; and at the close of his speech, informed me, that his nation would be very glad to have me spend some time with them before I returned home. I agreed to preach to them, on my return from Long Point, in three weeks from this day. We then took leave of them, returned to Major Beech's, and took some refreshment; and at four in the afternoon I preached to the white people, at a Mr. Cook's, in the same neighborhood; and in the evening at Queenston, on the other side of the river.

[The missionaries continued to travel westward, preaching and visiting at Thirty-Mile Creek, Burford, the Mohawk settlement on the Grand river, and Long Point. The journal is here omitted until the date of their return to the Niagara.]

Saturday, 22d [Oct.]. This morning I went to Queenston, crossed the river, and went to Maj. Beech's, where I met with Elder Holmes, after an absence of three weeks, and went with him to the Tuscarora village, and had a pleasing interview with the Indians. At evening we returned to Major Beech's, where we met with a Mr. Palmer, a Baptist minister, from Peeks-Kill, accompanied by a Deacon Bentley, from the same place, and a Mr. Marsh, from New York, with whom we passed the evening very agreeably.

Lord's Day, 23d. After breakfast we all went to the village, where we met a pretty large collection of the Indians and a number of white people; when, for the first time, I preached to my Indian brethren, by an interpreter. We spent some time with them, after preaching, and then

returned to Mr. Cook's, where I preached at four o'clock, and spent the night.

Monday, 24th. According to previous engagement, I crossed the river, and went in company with our friends from New York, and Mr. Thompson, to Newark, where I preached in the evening, and went home with my friend Mr. Sweezey for lodgings. The next morning I tarried with him till my company arrived, when I bid him and his family an affectionate adieu, after receiving the most pressing solicitation to call on him, if I ever came that way again, and his kind wishes for my prosperity and safe return home; and rode to Queenston, where we parted with Mr. Thompson, crossed the river, and proceeded to Elder Holmes', at Fort Slusher. I spent the remainder of the week with great satisfaction, at this place; preached once, and made preparations for a council with the Indians on Saturday. Elder Holmes and his lady treated me with every mark of friendship and hospitality.

Saturday, 29th. Elder Holmes accompanied me to the village, where we held a council with the Indians: I gave them a talk in writing, and agreed to meet them in council the next Monday, to receive their answer.

Lord's Day, 30th. I preached to them again, and had much conversation with them, after preaching; and then went across the river, and preached in the evening, at Mr. Thompson's, at Stanford, where to my great joy I met with Brother Warren, after an absence of almost a fortnight. The account he gave me of his tour while we were apart, added greatly to my joy and encouragement.

Monday, 31st. Brother Warren went to Newark, and I, according to agreement, crossed over to the Indian village, where I met with Elder Holmes, held the proposed council with them, and received their talk, to be presented to the Shaftsbury Association. After our council was concluded, I took a solemn and affectionate leave of them, and returned to Queenston, in company with Elder Holmes, and lodged at Mr. Rose's. The next morning we went to Mr. Thompson's, and spent the day very agreeably; and at evening

Elder Holmes preached a most excellent sermon on the nature of gospel preaching. After worship, Brother Warren arrived and we all spent the night together.

Wednesday, Nov. 2. This morning after prayer, we had a solemn parting with Elder Holmes and Mr. Thompson's family, and rode to Fort Erie, where we crossed the river and spent the night at Buffalo.

Before I proceed any further in my narrative I would beg the attention of the reader to a few remarks on the situation of the people in that part of the province of Upper Canada which we visited.

Fort Erie is at the foot of Lake Erie, just where the Niagara river falls out of that lake. In the neighborhood of this fort is a pretty large settlement, and the people entirely destitute of a preached gospel. The village of Newark lies on the south shore of Lake Ontario, just where it receives the Niagara river. There is an extensive settlement contiguous to this village, and the people almost without gospel privileges. There is a Mr. Addison,* an Episcopalian minister, who lives not far from Newark; and a Mr. Young, a Presbyterian, who lives in town; otherways the people are entirely destitute, unless now and then supplied by the Methodist riding preachers; and that very seldom. The distance from Fort Erie to Newark is upwards of thirty miles, and all the way pretty thickly inhabited on the river; and, in many places, large settlements back from the river. At the mouth of Chippewa creek, a little above

*The Rev. Robert Addison, first missionary in the Niagara district of "the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and first rector of St. Mark's, Niagara, Ont. He was appointed missionary of Niagara, July 17, 1791, but did not reach his territory—coming from England—until June, 1792. His residence was at Niagara, but throughout a long pastorate he traveled, preached and baptised at Grimsby, St. Catharines, Ancaster, Jordan, Chippewa, Fort Erie and westward as far as Long Point. He was the first chaplain to the Parliament of Upper Canada, at Niagara and later at York (Toronto). He officiated at the burial of Gen. Sir Isaac Brock, and Col. John McDonald, who fell together at Queenston, when they were buried together in a bastion of Fort George, October 16, 1812. He was military chaplain for many years, death ending his labors, October 6, 1829, in his 75th year. His remains rest under the chancel of St. Mark's, in the walls of which edifice a tablet is placed to his memory. That church still owns his library, of several hundred volumes.

Niagara Falls, is a large and thick-settled neighborhood (almost a village), and a settlement of considerable extent up the said creek. A town by the name of Stanford lies on the river, a little below the Great Falls, that is pretty large and thickly inhabited. In this town there is a Mr. Eastman, a Presbyterian minister, who preaches statedly in three different places. The village of Queenston is situated on the bank of the river, about seven miles above Newark; in its vicinity is a pretty large settlement; and within two or three miles, a small village, at the Four Mile Creek. These two villages, and the adjacent settlements, are entirely destitute of stated preaching.

[The journal gives an extended account of religious conditions in this part of the province; mentions that besides two Episcopalians, one of them Mr. Addison, the other "a Mr. Phelps, not far from the head of Lake Ontario"; three Presbyterians and "a German of the Lutheran order," settled about ten or fifteen miles from Queenston, there were no ordained preachers in the district "except the Methodists, and not many of them. . . . The mission of Elder Blood, according to appearance, was attended with many happy consequences. . . . Mr. Dunlap and Mr. Proudfit have each made a tour in that country, and have left evident traces of their usefulness." After a long exhortation to his brethren to prosecute the work, Mr. Covell continues:]

On our return from the province of Canada, let me invite the reader to call and make a short visit with the poor savages. Elder Elkanah Holmes is appointed by the New York Missionary Society, as a missionary to the north-western Indians. His labors have been chiefly with the Senecas and Tuscaroras; and much of the greater part of the time with the latter. The greater part of the Senecas are well inclined to receive the gospel, and the maxims of civilization; though there are some of them opposed to it, which causes some trouble, and in some degree retards his success with them; notwithstanding the balance of circumstances is much in his favor with them. With the Tuscaroras he has been much more successful. In less than two years, he has had the happiness to prevail on them to aban-

don many of their savage notions; they have entered into solemn covenant with him, to abstain from the use of spiritous liquors, of all kinds; to observe the Sabbath as a day of religious worship, and to do everything in their power to restrain licentiousness among the rising generation, and become acquainted with the Christian religion. To this covenant they adhere, with a scrupulosity that might be an admonition to white people. There is a very convenient house erected in their village (at the expense of the State) for the purpose of meeting for worship and educating their children. They have an English school taught by a young Indian, who has a good share of English learning, and is a very sober, respectable man. The solemn and orderly manner in which they attend public worship; the correctness and melody of their singing, and the solicitude and affection with which they listen to a preached gospel, afford incontestible evidence of the success of his labors among them; and at the same time, hold out the strongest inducements to prosecute the missionary business among other tribes of the same color. . . . On the morning of Thursday, the 3d of November, we left Buffalo and pursued our journey homewards. . . .

NOTE—In an Appendix to his journal, Mr. Covell tells of the council which was in progress at the Seneca village, as to building a house to serve as church and school, for the decision of which Elder Holmes was waiting when the missionaries arrived in Buffalo. "At this council, the principal chiefs of the Onondaga and Cayuga nations were present. The object was to effect a reconciliation between the two contending parties, so that the house might be built, the missionary received and the nation instructed in the principles of the gospel and civilization, by general and amicable agreement. Much depended on the result of this council. The famous orator, Red Jacket, was a strenuous advocate for receiving the gospel and building the house; and a majority of the nation were on his side. After counselling together on the subject upwards of ten days, they came to a conclusion to have the house built, and invited Mr. Holmes to meet them at their council house." Mr. Covell gives the speech of Red Jacket on this occasion, in which that orator avowed a friendliness to the work of the missionaries in curious contrast to his attitude a few years later, in the days of Hyde and Harris. Mr. Holmes' reply to Red Jacket, on the occasion referred to, is also given, as is also Mr. Covell's own talk to the Indians at Tuscarora village, October 29, 1803.

VI.

VISIT OF GERARD T. HOPKINS.

A QUAKER AMBASSADOR TO THE INDIANS WHO
VISITED BUFFALO IN 1804.

NOTE—In 1804 an Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, went on a mission to the Indians at Fort Wayne. The party consisted of George Ellicott (a relative of Joseph Ellicott), Gerard T. Hopkins and Philip Dennis. Returning from Fort Wayne, by vessel down Lake Erie, these Quakers arrived at Fort Erie on May 10th. The journal of the mission, written in 1804 by Gerard T. Hopkins, was published as a pamphlet in that year, and reprinted for private distribution in 1862, with an appendix compiled by George Ellicott's daughter, Mrs. Martha E. Tyson. The following extract, relating to the visit in Buffalo and on the Niagara, is from a copy containing important manuscript corrections and additions supplied by Mrs. Tyson. Gerard T. Hopkins was an approved minister of the Society of Friends.

8th (Fifth month [May]). During last night lay at Presqueile,* and this morning put on shore the passengers bound for that place, after which the wind heading us, we lay at anchor the rest of the day. Presqueile is a town on the American side of the lake, containing about forty houses, several of which are stores. A small garrison of the United States is stationed here.

9th. About 10 o'clock last night, a light favorable breeze sprung up, which encouraged us to proceed. The vessel had been all night and during the day under sail. At 8 o'clock in the evening we dropped anchor, within four miles of Niagara river. Our commander says that the channel lead-

*Presqu' Isle, now Erie, Pa.

ing into the harbor is rocky and dangerous, and deems it imprudent to attempt an entrance at night.

It is a pleasing reflection, that we are so near to the end of our passage over the lake; and we are gladdened with the hope, that we shall shortly prosecute the remainder of our journey over *terra firma*, where we shall not be subject to the impediments of opposing winds, and be freed from the dangers of storms. Lake Erie is a very beautiful body of water, 300 miles in length and generally fifty to sixty in width. Much of the distance we have sailed has been out of sight of land. The water of the lake appears to be of a beautiful deep green color, but when taken up in a glass vessel is to be admired for its transparency. I think it is, without exception, the sweetest water I ever drank.

10th. At 4 o'clock this morning our anchor was again hoisted, and in about half an hour we were safely moored at Fort Erie. This is a small fort on the Canadian shore of the lake, garrisoned by the British. Immediately on our arrival we set out on foot for Buffalo, distant five miles, a town situated at the junction of Buffalo Creek with Lake Erie, and near the commencement of the outlet of the lake, commonly called Niagara river. The object of this excursion was to obtain a conveyance across the country to the nearest line of public stages. We were successful in an application to one of the inhabitants, who agreed to furnish us with a light wagon, to be in readiness two days hence. Here we met Erasmus* Granger, an agent of the United States in the Indian Department. We had conversation with him at considerable length on Indian affairs. He tells us that many individuals amongst the Indians of his district (who are of the Six Nations) are turning their attention to agriculture.

About mid-day we returned in a small boat to our vessel. After dining on board, we went on shore at Fort Erie, and joined by our Commodore and Lieutenant Cox, a passenger with us from Detroit, we engaged a light wagon to return with us at four o'clock tomorrow morning, to view the

*Erastus.

Falls of Niagara, distant about eighteen miles. We extended our walk for a considerable distance along the shore of Lake Erie; it is here composed of a solid body of limestone, beautifully marked.

11th. This morning we set out for the Falls of Niagara; our road passed near the margin of Niagara river, from the lake to the Falls, a distance of eighteen miles, which afforded us a view both of the river, and of the adjacent improvements. The land is generally under cultivation and is tolerably improved. The soil appears rather cold and stiff; but some of the meadows are nearly equal to the best I ever saw; some of the farms belong to members of our Society, and we are told that there is a meeting of Friends not far distant from the Falls. Considerable emigrations are making from the United States, to this as well as other parts of Upper Canada, owing to the very advantageous terms upon which the British Government dispose of the land, being scarcely removed from a gift.

We reached a Canadian town called Chippewa, to breakfast, after which we walked to the Falls, a distance of two miles. This was a walk, of which every step seemed to increase curiosity and surprise. Our attention was soon arrested by a cloud which hangs perpetually over the Falls for the height of 600 feet, arising from the dashing of the waters. [There is a continual increase in the velocity of the water, from the commencement of the river to the Falls. From the town of Chippewa to the Falls, the velocity is very great; the water dashes against the rocks, rising many feet in height, from the force, occasioning a very confused appearance, and incessant roar. It is observable that within a short distance of the Cataract (no doubt owing to less fall), the water seems to make a tremulous pause, as though in doubtful suspense.]*

As we advanced to the Falls the solid earth and rocks shook, or seemed to shake, under our feet, whilst the roar of the waters so overpowered every other sound that, notwith-

*Passage in brackets is in the original MS., but not in the journal as printed.

standing we were *tete-a-tete*, it was necessary to raise the voice to a very loud key in order to be heard. Meanwhile the cloud above mentioned issued continually in what we sometimes hear called a Scotch mist.

There is a common saying, "Those who know no danger, fear none." This was our case on returning to the extremity of an over-jutting rock, called Table Rock, opposite to the great cataract, in order to gratify our curiosity, in a peep down the precipice which is more than 150 feet perpendicular. In passing afterwards a short distance below this rock, we were alarmed with the discovery, that the place on which we had stood was but a thin shell, the Falls having undermined the rock for many feet. Proceeding a little lower down the Falls, we again found that our second stand was almost as baseless. We, however, supposed that the danger was not equal to our apprehensions, as the names of great numbers of visitors were cut in these rocks, near their extremities. I shall not attempt to give a particular description of the Falls of Niagara, which has been done by persons who have visited them, for the especial purpose of gratifying the curious. [Sufficient to say, that the waters of Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake Huron, Lake St. Clair, Lake Erie and several small lakes, all pass over the cataract, on the way through Lake Ontario, and thence down the River St. Lawrence, to the ocean; that the river is here but three-fourths of a mile in width; that these waters pour down over a perpendicular height of more than 150 feet, the whole of this width; that the noise from this vast fall of water is to be heard for the distance of forty-five miles, and finally, that the scene appeared to me whilst on the spot, to be awful, diversified, and sublime, beyond description.]* After we had gratified our curiosity in a view of them we returned to Fort Erie, and after night were rowed in a small boat to Buffalo town, in order to be in readiness for setting out homeward in the morning.

12th. The person who has engaged to take us on our journey this morning has disappointed us. The circum-

*Passage in original MS., omitted from the printed journal.

stance is a trial, as we have become very anxious to reach our homes. Being at leisure we accompanied the Indian agent in a ride, four miles above Buffalo Creek, to an Indian village of the Senecas, one of the tribes of the Six Nations.

They are making considerable progress in agriculture, live in tolerable log houses, and have a number of cattle, horses and hogs. We saw many of them at work; they were preparing the ground for the plough by rolling logs, taking up stumps, etc.

We also saw among them a large plough at work drawn by three yoke of oxen, and attended by three Indians. They all appeared to be very merry, and to be pleased with our visit. The land upon which these Indians are settled is of a superior quality. We saw amongst them Red Jacket, Farmer's Brother, and several other distinguished chiefs. Many of these Indians wore in their ears, and round their necks, strung upon strings, several descriptions of lake shells. Here we met with Saccarissa, a principal chief of the Tuscarora tribe. He has come for the purpose of being assisted by the agent in vesting fifteen thousand dollars in the purchase of land from the Holland Land Company. They have greatly declined hunting, and are becoming agriculturists. The Tuscarora Indians removed from North Carolina many years ago, and were received into the then Five Nations, or Iroquois Indians, who gave them a small tract of country, which they now think wants enlarging. It is a fact, that the Six Nations have stock in the Bank of the United States to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars, from which they draw regular dividends. This is money which they received some years ago from our Government for the sale of their lands. The chiefs and principal people took the advice of General Washington, in making bank stock of their money.

13th. This morning we set out from Buffalo in a farm wagon drawn by two horses, and traveled 32 miles through a rough and inferior country.

14th. Proceeded 23 miles and reached Batavia, a new town, handsomely situated. We have had a muddy, dis-

agreeable road, through a country too flat to be desirable. The land is pretty rich, and very heavily timbered. We have been all day followed by millions of mosquitoes; crossed a handsome stream called the Tanawantae, and were told at the Ford that a little distance above us 120 rattle snakes lay dead. These snakes were killed by some fishermen with their spears, the warm weather having brought them out of their dens. People are making settlement here very rapidly.

[From this point they traveled across the Genesee, passing near Hemlock Lake, and thence to Canandaigua, where they got the stage; then on by Geneva, Cayuga Lake at the long bridge, Utica, down the Mohawk to Albany by the Hudson to New York and by stage to Baltimore, where they ended their journey, May 27, 1804, having been absent "three months and four days and traveled about 2,000 miles."]

VII.

VISIT OF REV. JOSEPH AVERY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN POSSESSION
OF HIS GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER, MRS.
H. B. DOW, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Tuesday, Aug. 27, 1805. Set out* on this mission in the afternoon and lodged at Mr. Hyde's.

Wednesday, 28. Morning, rode to Lenox and attended to the business of my suit in court; then rode to N. Lebanon. There was at 3 o'clock a sacramental lecture. Messrs. Perry, Moss, Waters and Robbins were present. It rained before I arrived. Two sermons were preached, and I preached the last. Went to Mr. Churchill's for lodging. We had a ministerial chat in the evening, and Mr.

*From Tyringham, Berkshire Co., Mass. Joseph Avery was a missionary in the service of the Berkshire (Mass.) Missionary Society, and made several journeys through New York State in the latter years of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth century. On his father's side he was descended from Christopher Avery who with his son James, reached Salem on the ship *Arabella*, ten years after the coming of the *Mayflower*. Both father and son were men of distinction in the colony; it was the latter who in 1656 built the house in Groton, Ct., known as "the Hive of the Averys," a quaint, roomy structure which sheltered eight generations of his descendants. It was burned in 1894, and subsequently the site was deeded to the Avery Park Memorial Association, and there in 1900 a monument was dedicated to the old colonial Avery, who in his day was a judge, and second in military command under Governor Winthrop. The missionary Avery, whose journal is here printed, founded many churches, among them one in Bloomfield, Monroe County, which in 1899 celebrated its rooth anniversary.

Williston and Wood, returning from a mission of 15 weeks from the Hampshire Society attend with us an hour or so.

Thursday, 29. I set out early; it [was] soon rainy; when I came to Schermerhorn's Tavern it rained hard from 9 to 2, when it came only a mist. Rode to Albany, 20 miles, in the afternoon; in the whole, 27 miles.

Friday, 30. Rode to Bern 21 miles, visited two families.

Saturday 31st. Visited three families; preached in the afternoon at a conference, and a prayer-meeting of the church.

Lord's Day September 1st. Preached three sermons to an attentive audience; one man 28 years of age said he had never heard but two sermons in his life before then. Three dollars were contributed.

Monday, 2d. Rode to Cobus-Kill. Made an appointment to preach the last Sabbath in my mission at Old Schohare.

Tuesday, 3d. Rode to Springfield, 30 miles.

Wednesday, 4th. Attended the funeral of a Mr. Brusler's daughter who moved last Spring from West Hampton. His son married a daughter of Mr. Charles Taylor, from Tyringham. After the funeral I rode.

Thursday, 5th. Rode to Paris. Called on Rev. Messrs. Steel and Horton, besides visiting seven families in my way. I arrived at Verona on Friday the 6th of the month.

At Verona I spent two Sabbaths and the days of the week between, only one day I went to Vernon, 12 miles. I was in the town eight days; I preached 8 times, visited 22 families, attended two conferences. There have been no new instances of awakening since July. About that time three Baptist ministers came into the place and zealously preached the necessity of going down into the water, and altho' they made no proselytes, yet it made some disputations for a short season, and seriousness ceased in the minds of many, then apparently awakened, and no new instances since, but there remain happy fruits of the awakening; 20 are added to the church, 5 more are propounded and several more contemplate coming forward soon.

Monday 16th. I set out for Batavia, in the County of Genesee. On Wednesday in the afternoon I reached Genevy [Geneva], where Mr. Chapman presides. A number of ministers and elders of churches were assembled in presbytery; Mr. Chapman was moderator and Mr. Chadwick scribe; Mr. Woodruff, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Jones, were members. Mr. Stewart, whom I saw at Homer on my last mission mentioned in that journal, now a licentiate, was present; a man well reported of. I attended with the Presbytery until Thursday 10 o'clock very agreeably, when I left them and arrived at Ganson's Settlement* 19 miles beyond the Genesee River on Saturday 21st.

Lord's Day, 22d. Preached twice in the day to a very decent assembly in a schoolhouse; they gave good attention. Appointed a conference in the evening at Esq. Bates's; it was rainy and but few came in.

Monday, 23d. Visited four families who appeared to be glad to be noticed by ministers, they are chiefly young families in this place, appear decent, but not one professor of religion. Judge Esau [?] Plat [Platt?] is an Episcopal professor, is a decent man, hospitable and kind; attended on the Sabbath with his family.

While I was having my horse's shoe set I was conducted to a strange monument in the woods, a pile [pile] of dirt as large as 20 cord coalpit; a tree has grown out of its top about 18 inches through; it has been dug in and human bones found in it, some of a very large length; the whole contents unknown.

I travelled from this place to Batavia in the afternoon, 12 miles to Landlord Row's, where a young woman lay a corpse, who had lived in the house, a maid by the name of Hayes, her mother was niece to old Mr. ——— of Tyringham. Betsy Spring was here at work.

Tuesday, 24. Attended on the funeral at one o'clock and preached; a large number of people attended with solemnity. The night before an aged woman died by the name of Munger, a widow without children; her husband

*Le Roy, N. Y.

built the house where I put up. He was admitted to bail on an indictment for beastiality, and went to the British and forfeited his bonds; his bondsmen took his estate; but not finding himself safe among the British was seen to be returning privately, but was supposed to be killed by the Tonawanda Indians for witchcraft. The woman was a decent person, and respected, but no relation here. I attend her funeral at 4 in the afternoon about two miles from this. In the evening a man by the name of Stuart, a transient man, a bachellor, supposed to have no property, after an illness of a very few days, departed this life. I preached at his funeral the next day at one o'clock.

Thursday, 26. There have been but 3 grown persons die in this place before these three since it was settled which is two years last Spring. I visited a number of families in the day and traveled about 12 miles.

Friday, 27. Continued visiting all day, and in the evening preached at the Court House.

Saturday, 28. Visited up street to a number of families.

Lord's Day, 29. Preached both parts of the day at the Court House.

Monday 30th. Left Batavia for the westward. Travelled 20 miles in the Queenstown road, mostly a wilderness.

Tuesday, Oct. 1. Went off from this road and visited a settlement called Slaton's [or Haton's?] and preached in the evening to a considerable number of people who attended decently and were glad of an opportunity to hear. They began here two years ago and never had a sermon before or a meeting of any kind on the Sabbath or any other day for religious worship. Esq. Warner is here.

Wednesday, 2d. Travelled seven miles to and on the Queenstown Road to Wilbers' Esq. Tavern. He is a very decent man. His wife is Dr. Hand's [?] daughter of Bloomfield. It was now 10 o'clock and 11 miles to the next house, and began to rain and continued most of the rest of the day. I was kindly entertained here until

Thursday 3d, when I travelled on 18 miles toward Niagara to the Tuscarora Village. Mr. Elkany Homes [Elkanah Holmes] a Baptist missionary from the N. Y.

Missionary Society, is preaching to them. He lives in a room in their meeting-house. He blew his shell which is the token for calling an assembly, and they came together in the evening. When according [to] their custom I was introduced to them by Mr. Holmes, the chief then addressed me by the interpreter with a speech, showing their readiness to hear what I had to say unto them. I gave them a short history of my travel there and the design of my visit and then gave them a short discourse by an interpreter and concluded by a prayer in English.

Friday, 4th. Went to Niagara Landing and notified an evening lecture; but nobody came.

Saturday, 5th. Had calculated to go on in the morning to Buffalo; but it rained and the road in this side was very bad for strangers. I concluded to stay here over the Sabbath; and this day I visited every house in the village, 7 in number. There are a few more at the distance of about 2 1-2 miles. This is in the town of Ere [Erie], is 95 miles long and 20 wide. This settlement goes by the name of Lewiston. Some of the people here are very rough, the place has the name of being worse than the heathen, but I found families that appeared decent. I put up at Capt. Beech's. Mr. Ira Benjamin lives here, and Harris who married Capt. Teag's [?] daughter. This place is seven miles from the Castle. [Fort Niagara.]

Lord's Day, 6th. Preached to about 50 people. They attend soberly. One wagon load of people came 9 miles.

Monday 7. Crossed the ferry to Queenston, in Upper Canada, and traveled up on a very pleasant road by the side of Niagara River. Went down to the Falls and took a view of them, and the mills on the rapids, and then pursued on toward the outlet of Lake Eri. I called at Chip-away. Here is a river navigable with boats for about 100 miles into the country. There are people on this road from almost all parts of the world and of different professions. I put up night in a settlement of Germans by the profession of menin [Mennonists] and lodged at the house of their teacher. There are not far from them Germans who call their profession Dunkers.

Tuesday 8th, came to the ferry but the wind was so high that the flat could not cross. The lake looked like the sea in a storm and the rapids like [illegible] race.

Wednesday 9th. Crossed the ferry and travelled on the beach 3 miles to Buffalow village. This is a new settlement begun in settling but two years, mostly New England people. I visited several families and traveled on toward Batavia, visited several families and put up at Mr. Ransom's from Great Barrington. This was 8 miles from Buffalow.

Thursday 10. Progressed on. There is no house off from this road all the way from Buffalo to Batavia. I now made it an object to call at every house. It is a road of 45 [miles], I traveled 59 miles and visited 18 families. I came to Mr. Gans who married Dr. Brunson's daughter. Here is a thicker settlement for about 4 miles than any place excepting about Major Ransom's about 15 miles from this; where I should have had a meeting in the evening, but Elder Irish had appointed at the same time. Mr. Wheeler, a brother of Dr. Wheeler of Salisbury lives here, he said he had a son who had of late commenced preacher, whom he looked for soon to visit him; he is a professor and his wife and son and daughter and had buried a daughter who was a professor about 8 weeks before this. Lodged at Mr. Goss's.

Friday 11, preached in the afternoon to about 40 people at Mr. Gans. I visited all the families in this settlement to the number of 9, chiefly young and not one professor among them, and only Mr. Goss and his wife who entertain a hope—They had never any preaching before.

Saturday 12. Rode to Batavia 6 miles, visited 4 families in the way. Since I left Batavia until my return is 13 days. I have travelled 148 miles, was three days interrupted traveling, preached 5 times.

Lord's Day 13. A Methodist minister being here he preached in the morning, and I in the afternoon. [Loose note laid in the journal:] A minister I saw at Batavia by the name of Harshey, a German from Merland [?Maryland.] His profession was Meninonest [Mennonist]. They

do not baptise infants, nor require a profession of a change of heart in the subject. Those who have been baptised in infancy they do not require to be again baptised, to be admitted to their communion; but admit of it by their request. They administer baptism by pouring water, but do not deny plunging to such as desire it, and then it is done with the face downward.

Monday 14. I rode up the creek south from Batavia to No. 10 of the Second Range, 12 miles in a new muddy road, half the first part of the way without a house, was accompanied to Mr. Mackracken to No. 9. Visited 7 families and came to Mr. Hodge's, whose daughter's funeral I had attended.

Tuesday 15. Preached in the afternoon to about 30 people; rode back 3 miles and preached at a Mr. Adams's in the evening. About 20 persons attended soberly; I had a conference with them after sermon.

Wednesday 16. Came back to Batavia, visited 4 families on the way, and preached in the evening at the Court House.

Thursday 17. Called on a few families, 5 in the morning and bid them farewell, and left the place and rode to Ganson's Settlement to meet my appointment there in the afternoon. The wind blew amazing hard, the trees fell in the woods, limbs from girdled timber were thick in the air at times, and green and dry trees fell across the road in great plenty. I never felt myself in greater danger on the road in my life at the distance of 12 miles, 5 of it without a house, but I received no harm. Very few people came to the meetings, they had all quitted labor in the afternoon, as they feared to be in their lots, and their children feared to be left alone in their houses.

Friday 18. I went about two miles to see an old fort in the woods by the side of a road and the falls on Allins River about 100 rods from the fort. This river in low water will carry a grist mill, day and night; but for a mile above the falls, which are 73 feet, it now wholly disappears until two miles below when there is a greater quantity of water than above. In times of high water it runs a great

depth over the falls. Then rode 6 1-2 miles to meet my appointment at the deep springs, called Calidonia. Met with the elders of the church and members in their way of preparation in the Scotch way for communion. Many of the members could not speak and some could not understand English.

[The remaining pages of the MS. are a record of the preachings and visitations as Mr. Avery made his way eastward from Caledonia, which settlement he left Oct. 21st, visiting East Bloomfield, Phelps, Canandaigua, Manlius, Pompey, Verona, Rome, Vernon, Otsego, Bowman's Creek, Old Schoharie and Bern, at which point, Nov. 18th, the journal ends.]

VIII.

VISIT TO BUFFALO, IN 1806, OF

THE REV. ROSWELL BURROWS.

EXTRACT FROM HIS REPORT TO THE GROTON (CT.)
UNION CONFERENCE, JANUARY 2, 1807.*

I now address you on the subject of my mission to the north-west frontiers agreeably to your letter of instructions and appointments to me for that purpose, dated at Newport, September 10th, 1806, in behalf of the Groton Union Conference. I am sorry that I have not just ground to give you a more favorable account of my labors than what I have. I am in some measure sensible that returns of this nature too often are painted in too strong colors to bear an examination, but I wish not to set forth anything in a different point of view than what it may absolutely appear to those that follow after me.

I left my family on the 15th of September last, and proceeded without making any stop to preach until I had ridden two hundred and twenty-seven miles to Fairfield in Herkimer County, excepting I preached twice on Lord's Day at Clifton Park where Elder Peck usually preaches, who was then absent.

I got to Fairfield the 23rd, at which place I tarried until

*From a MS. copy deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society by Lorenzo K. Haddock, Nov. 13, 1866. "Elder Burrows," Mr. Haddock wrote, "was the grandfather of Roswell L. Burrows now of this city."

the 29th and attended four meetings in this and the adjoining towns. Here are in these parts three vacant Baptist churches made up of five or six different towns; and a large number of towns in which there are a number of scattering brethren; and have no stated preaching in them. I was earnestly requested to improve the term of my mission in these parts. I found a solemn attention and humbly hope some good impressions were made.

Monday the 29th I rode thirty miles to Paris, where I preached on Tuesday, the 30th. From thence I rode 108 miles to Scipio and spent the next Lord's Day with the third church in that town and had a good season. I here learned that Elder Irish by an appointment from the Boston Missionary Society and Elder Covel* from the Shaftsbury Association had left those parts about a fortnight before on a mission to Upper Canada. Being desirous to overtake them, on Monday the 6th of October, I proceeded on without stopping to preach, until I rode one hundred and six miles to Batavia, near Lake Erie. But considering from the time they passed into Upper Canada, it was improbable I should overtake them until they had got to the end of their tour; and that it was not advisable to follow in their track, as there opens a large field for labors in these parts, I resolved to take a different route from what any missionary had done before me.

Accordingly I turned off from the main road south of Batavia about fourteen miles, where I found a large settlement, and learned there had never been any Baptist preaching there; and that they were nearly without any form of worship, excepting a few, who sometimes met for prayer and singing. I tarried here nearly a week and attended a number of meetings, and visited many families, praying with and exhorting them. I found there were scattered in this wilderness about sixteen Baptist professors, as sheep without a shepherd, some of whom seemed to have their minds stirred up to serve God, and made it manifest by

*Rev. Lemuel Covel, whose narrative of a visit in 1803 we have given, *ante* pp. 207-216.

public confession; and all the assembly appeared solemn and attentive.

I exhorted the brethren to unite in covenant, for watch-care over each other, and to maintain stated public worship, which they agreed to, and accordingly made appointment of a meeting for that purpose. From what appeared in that place there is a pleasing prospect, that, shortly, the Lord will plant a vine in that desolate land; and oh! may He cause that my labors may be blessed to its promotion! Although there appeared an opening sufficient to occupy all the time I proposed to spend on my tour, yet, as there were many other settlements equally destitute, I concluded it to be most proper to divide my time amongst them. However, they would not be denied my calling and preaching with them on my return.

Accordingly I made an appointment, and proceeded on, sixty-two miles to Buffalo, where I expected to find Elder Holmes, but was disappointed, as he resided with the Tuscarora Indians, about thirty miles north. I felt some peculiar trials from this second disappointment, being sensible of the need I had of advice and counsel from some of the fathers in the ministry, in this, to me, a new undertaking, and finding, by inquiry, there was not a person in that village, who ever made profession of any religion, and their morals corrupt in the extreme. I was almost persuaded to make no stop there. However, I concluded on giving them an offer of a meeting, and accordingly obtained a hall in a tavern, for that purpose, and gave notice through the village, but was informed, that I should most likely have disturbance. Whatever their motives were, I had a large assembly, and I here experienced sundry, singular circumstances.

My trials at first entering this place, my enlargement of mind in my improvements, the solemn attention of the assembly, and so large an assembly without a single professor (except myself), were all quite singular. I preached from Psalms, 49th chapter. and 8th verse—"For the redemption of the soul is precious."

The assembly tarried for singing and exhortation. O! may the Lord fasten conviction in some minds.

From there, Thursday the 16th, I rode eighteen miles to Eighteen-Mile Creek settlement,* where I preached to a solemn and affected assembly. It was the first time there ever was any preaching in this settlement, or any meeting for worship, although there is a circle of about ten miles, nearly sixty families, and six or eight professors, mostly Baptists. I advised, and obtained their consent to a covenant for worship, and watch-care, and some of the brethren seemed to have their minds stirred up, to promote the cause of God, and some who had not experienced religion, manifested some good degree of conviction. One respectable young man, in particular, requested my prayers for him, observing that he should not desist in his pursuit, until he obtained a sealing pardon for sin.

I made an appointment to attend here again, a week from next Lord's day; and proceeded on the next day, still up the south of Lake Erie, about fifty-five miles, to what is called "Cannidoway Creek Settlement."† The day that I entered the settlement being Saturday 18th, and very rainy, as I rode along, I made an appointment for a meeting the next day and was agreeably disappointed to meet so large an assembly, on so wet and cold a day, in such a wilderness, many of whom came, some six, and some eight miles in ox wagons. My heart was affected with compassion for the multitude, lest they be sent away empty in this wilderness; and I trust a little was blessed for feeding them. I made sundry appointments at this meeting, at all of which we had comfortable seasons, and I had much satisfaction and comfort of mind, from the opportunity I here had with a number of Baptist friends, some few of whom appeared engaged to see the cause of God promoted, while some were in a luke warm state. In all, I find about twenty Baptist professors scattered in this wilderness, who have at times attended to some form of worship. I proposed to them a

*Joel Harvey's Settlement, begun in 1804 near the mouth of the creek; now in the Town of Evans.

†Canadaway, Chautauqua Co.

covenant similar to what I had, with the brethren, I visited in other places, which was readily agreed to.

I visited sundry families in this place, and I hope to some good effect, particularly, a brother that had been for a long time, in neglect of even the externals of religion, who was brought to a confession in public assembly, and to his family in particular, manifesting to all, his purpose to live religion, and maintain worship in his family. Another brother, who was the first one I called on in this place, just before I entered his house, was conversing with his wife upon the low state of his mind, and the desire he had to hear preaching, and observed he thought he must sell and move away, which seemed to be the feelings of her mind. Immediately, upon which, I entered the house. After learning my business, the man affected great joy and gave thanks to God, that he should send his servant to visit them in their low state.

In this wilderness land, the brethren generally manifest their thankfulness to God, and the Union Conference, that they are remembered in sending preaching among them, and desire still to be remembered in sending preaching supplies. Wednesday the 22d, being about to depart on my way, we attended prayers, and God was remarkably present, while numbers prayed in succession. My soul was greatly enlarged, with desires for a blessing on this settlement, and my feelings were sensibly affected from the tears of grief that were shed by them, at the thought that we, who had had sweet communion together should part, most likely never to meet again in time; as well as from a thought, that there is no preacher of our order, within one hundred miles in any direction.

Several followed me to an appointment, about eight miles, on my return. We had a comfortable season.

Friday the 24th, I rode twenty miles to Cattaraugus, and visited the Indians there, with an idea of preaching to them, but was belated, and the Indians being hunting, it was not consistent.

I, however, had conversation with some, who could un-

derstand English, that were attentive, and one said, he thanked me, for care of his soul.

I returned from the village to a tavern, about fifteen miles, where, at about eight o'clock at night, was requested to attend a meeting with two families (who were all the settlers, within a number of miles) and a few travelers, I accordingly did, and the next day rode thirty-two miles, to my appointment at Eighteen-Mile Creek; and on Sunday the 26th I preached to a large assembly. In the first discourse, my mind was heavy, and much tried. In the afternoon I had a good season, and the solemn attention of an affected assembly.

Monday the 27th and Tuesday the 28th, I rode sixty miles to Elder Holmes at Tuscarora, an Indian settlement, with whom I tarried until the 30th, and with him attended two meetings with the Indians. I experienced much satisfaction from the interview, he being the only elder, I have had any such opportunity with since I came from home. His labors appear to have been abundantly blessed, with this nation, particularly for their civilization. They were before he came among them the most rude of the six nations, but now are the most cultivated, by abstaining from many of their heathenish traditions, and embracing many customs dictated by Christianity; and I hope not without some spiritual blessings, as sundry amongst them appear to be experimentally acquainted with religion.

I learned from Elder Holmes, that Elder Covil, whom I mentioned before, is no more in this life. He died the 19th of this month, in the town of Carlton, Sinclair County, Upper Canada. The natives here are in mourning for him. He was highly esteemed by them.

Brother Holmes sincerely requests that the Groton Union Conference would still consider the destitute situation of this western country, and send further supplies. For information of its necessity, he would quote his letter to the Boston Baptist Missionary Society, published in one of those numbers, perhaps the sixth or seventh.

Thursday the 30th, I rode 32 miles, to a tavern, on one

side six, and on the other side, fourteen miles without any inhabitants.

On my way I was lost, and night came on, and it was extremely dark and snowy. I now expected I must be out this night, as I could not find the path, except by feeling, and being several miles from any clearing. In this straitened circumstance, I committed my cause to God, Who conducted me through, late in the evening. Sometimes my horse was to his belly in mud, sometimes tearing my clothes in the brush, and sometimes my way was shut up by trees lying before me; but the Lord delivered me out of them all, and I got into an agreeable shelter, which at any other time would have been intolerable. It was thronged by tumultuous guests.

I soon introduced religious subjects, and treated with them on the important concerns of their souls, and soon had their attention. I asked the liberty and obtained it, and had the serious attention of all, for prayer, and in the morning the landlord requested me not to leave them, until I had prayed and taken breakfast. The family were solemn. The woman told me, she had had no opportunity to hear preaching for a number of years.

Friday 31st, I rode thirty miles, to a settlement, south of Batavia, and was some unwell, having taken cold the night before. I, however, attended meeting with them, who were very attentive to the word, and I learn they have had one meeting upon the subject of my advise, and have another appointed, and all appear engaged to give their aid, for the promotion of the Redeemer's cause. They were unanimous in their thanks to God, and to our conference, for remembering, and sending them preaching, and sincerely request that they may still be remembered. In this place, I would observe, that here is an extent of country, to the westward of Genesee river, larger than the State of Connecticut, on which there are supposed to be from twelve to fifteen hundred families, among whom there resides not one preacher, neither, have they heretofore been privileged with any missionary, excepting on the great roads, leading through to

Upper Canada, and to New Connecticut. There is a pleasing prospect, that shortly the Lord will plant a vine, at least, in the three settlements, I have particularly mentioned, and my heart feels enlarged, with desires that the Lord of the harvest, would send laborers into His vineyard.

[The Journal continues with details of preaching, and of travel, by way of Aurora, Aurelius, Pompey, Whitestown, Germantown, Little Falls, etc., arriving home at Groton December 4, 1806, having been absent eleven weeks and four days, and traveled on horseback 1300 miles. In all that time, he writes: "I was not privileged with hearing any sermon, excepting the one delivered by Elder Holmes to the Tuscarora Indians."]

IX.

A TEACHER AMONG THE SENECA.

HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF

JABEZ BACKUS HYDE,

WHO CAME TO THE BUFFALO CREEK MISSION IN 1811.

WRITTEN IN 1820.*

No doubt the Apostle's summary of the human character exhibited in the third chapter of Romans is a true representation of the national character of every nation and every individual that has not been renewed by divine grace. We then are to look for the different appearances in the character of nations and individuals in their different culture, circumstances, restraints or actions which bring to view or conceal their character.

Two brothers exposed to the same dangers, mutually dependent on each other, would in all probability live together like two brothers. Increase them to a band, and the regulations necessary to prevent them from destroying each other and to give success to their enterprises, would lead them to practice many things that would be called virtuous, amiable and honorable. In Christian countries where the influence of the Gospel is supposed to be felt in a degree by all, many persons can be found of great urbanity, generosity

*Now first published, from the original manuscript in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

and honor who from the circumstances in which they are placed and the culture of their minds, suppose themselves under indispensable necessity to take the life of their nearest friend who should offer them the least insult, or lose their own life in the attempt. This persuasion comes from the conceit that such high-mettled spirits cannot be restrained, or any character be preserved among them, only from the dread of such consequences. A regulation similar we might expect necessary in hell.

It will not be controverted I trust by any who believe the testimony of Scripture, that all men are equally depraved, that the different appearances in the character of nations, or individuals, are either produced by their different culture, the circumstances in which they may be placed, the restraints they may be under, or the particular cost and endowments of their minds directing that depravity in accomplishing the holy purposes of God, either of wrath or mercy.

I have introduced these remarks because we are hearing from every quarter of the amiableness and innocence of the heathen, who were very well off without the light of the Gospel. But to return to a more particular consideration of the character of the Indians. Those who retain their original habits are a hardy athletic race, glorying in their strength, activity and hardihood, scorning to complain under sufferings. Their privations and abstinence would appear almost incredible. Originally they had no views of personal property, further than the present subsistence. Their hospitality was only bounded by their whole possessions. To have refused a supper because it would take the family's breakfast, would have been at the price of their reputation. Their mode of subsistence and mutual dependence would ensure such a principle and establish the habit, which would become a law. All mutually dependent on the success of the chase, it became necessary to self-preservation that hunting parties contiguous and those more distant that might occasionally visit each other should make a common property of their good or ill success, if much was ob-

tained they shared bountifully, if little they shared accordingly, if nothing to bear the privation with cheerfulness was the only merit. But they were Nimrods, mighty hunters before the Lord. No doubt hunting wild beasts remarkably trains men for martial enterprises. The wars among the different tribes were bloody and exterminating, peace was rarely settled before one of the parties was reduced beyond the probability of ever being able to avenge the blood that had been spilt. This was a reduction of life, not of resources.

As all their education was oral or experimental, which would inspire confidence in the aged, and as the chiefs had the preëminence in nothing but a reputation for superior wisdom and experience, and the privilege of directing and being the first in hazardous enterprises, their influence was great though their authority was only advisory. A happy relict of this deference and respect for the aged remains with the Senecas. Trained up from infancy to self-denial Indians generally have a command of their passions and appetites. The intercourse between the sexes, if not indiscriminate, was but a little remove from it; not I apprehend from the violence of their passions but the looseness of their principles.

Indians are generally friendly and affable in their intercourse with each other. Their family government is generally mild and quiet. For one to speak at a time is taught from infancy. A child in making a request to his father or other relative addresses him by his title of relationship, as "My father," "My mother," adding not another word, let the case be ever so urgent, until he has an answer, "Here I am," or "Speak on." Indians generally address each other by some title of relationship, the younger address the elder as "My father," "My grandfather," "My older brother," "My uncle." The aged address the younger by some title of affection, as "My child," "My cousin," "My nephew," making a full pause, waiting for notice that they are heard before they proceed to open the subject. Indians have a high opinion of deliberation. A hasty opinion on subjects

of apparently small moment, they consider a mark of a weak, flighty mind. This custom of deliberation and reflection has doubtless greatly invigorated their minds and given them a solidity of judgment for which they are so justly admired.

THE RELIGION OF INDIANS.

Their manner of subsistence has doubtless done much to teach them their dependence on the providence of God. They acknowledge the preservation of their lives and their success in any enterprise to his kind interposition. It is an ordinary salutation: "Through the mercy or help of God I am alive and in health." "I thank God our preserver I see you alive and in health." They always open their councils with returning thanks to God, mentioning the particular blessings that attend them. They also close their councils in the same manner. When they have been successful in hunting they generally make a feast, professedly before the Lord, acknowledging God as the giver, and returning thanks for his benefits. The same has generally been the case, until of late, when they kill a domestic animal; they make a feast offering as they call it, and devour the animal. As far as I have been acquainted no family until within this few years has salted any provision for their use.

As far as I have been able to discover, these Indians are not idolators. They pay no worship to the Great Spirit through any similitude. They speak of God as existing or made known in four persons or sounds; whether they have reference to the name *Nau-wen-ne-u*, or his creating or governing the four elements, or something else I could never satisfy myself. They address these four existences, persons or sounds, without any name, as "the Great incomprehensible God," "the Creator and Governor of all things."

In the ceremonies of Indian worship is certainly to be seen at this day a shadow of the Mosaic ritual. They have annually the feast of first fruits, the feast of ingathering, the feast of atonement or yearly sacrifice, a feast in the Spring in which they present the different seeds they purpose to plant. They have numerous peace offerings, in

which individuals provide as they choose, and invite whom they please, and professedly eat before the Lord. They build altars of stone before a tent, covered with blankets, and burn Indian tobacco within the tent with fire taken from off the altar.

The first altar I discovered was about five years since.* I saw a fire in the evening in the woods a little way from my house. One of my neighbors informed me that the occasion of the fire was, an Indian performing religious rites for a neighbor that lay dangerously sick. In the morning I visited the spot, found the frame of a tent much in the shape of a sugar loaf; before the tent were stones laid in the form of an hearth; on it by appearance there had been considerable fire. I counted the stone but could not ascertain exactly how many there might have been, as some of them had been broken by the fire; there must have been ten, there might have been more. Within the tent there had been a small fire, which burnt the grass a little.

About two months after, the sick man continuing to grow worse, his father came to my house with a basket of stone on his back. I understood [from] him he was going to fit up the altar and try if he could not procure a blessing for his son. He thought the person that officiated before had not managed right. He repaired to the same place, cleared the ground, put his stones in order and raised up the frame of another tent. A little after dark he called at my house to get fire to conduct his ceremonies. I felt a strong desire to see the performance, but as no child or person went near him, I feared if I went I should be considered an intruder, and the ill success might be attributed to me. But it happened to be a very windy night; by taking advantage of the gusts of wind I could walk and not be heard. I got within a few yards of the fire, behind a log that he could not see me. I saw the old man standing by a large fire before the tent, every few minutes taking something from the fire and putting [it] within the tent. The tent was covered with blankets; the last blanket was a curtain which he drew

*In or about the year 1815.

back when he put anything in, and immediately closed it. I could not see anything on the fire. I have understood that they burn nothing on the fire before the tent, but the whole object is to kindle the sweet odor within from the fire without. I have since frequently seen the ruins of these tents and altars.

They observe eight days of uncleanness after a person has died in their house and dress in their worst attire during these days. They are not allowed to go into any assemblage of people for religious worship. The ninth day they make a feast. The appointed mourners who had met twice a day during the eight days to make lamentations, cease, and all are considered clean. These things I have repeatedly seen, and from good authority I have often heard that the same rites are observed in regard to their women as are enjoined by the Levitical law, with a little variation as to the number of days. It belongs to the next akin to avenge the blood of his murdered relation. The Indian festivals are generally conducted with singing and dancing; sometimes only singing. I suspect their singing is in an unknown tongue to themselves. I could never find one that could give any interpretation.

My purpose is only to state facts without at all discussing the subject as to the origin of Indian rites of worship.

Notwithstanding all the knowledge Indians have of God and their readiness to acknowledge him in all their blessings, they are under a miserable bondage from their belief in the power of evil spirits over their health, life and destiny. They suppose these evil spirits act through the agency of men whom they can empower to travel in mid-air over mountains, rivers, lakes, an amazing distance in one night, and inject a poisoned hair or feather into any victim they may select, which will end in death unless it can be counteracted or expelled by their conjurors. These conjurors pretend to be acquainted with the secret workings of those evil spirits, and the persons who are employed by them, which has occasioned the death of many as witches, though the conjurors dare not directly expose the persons that are thus

employed, if they have friends and influence, lest as they say they shall feel the weight of their malice on themselves. Indians generally attribute sickness, death or any misfortune to the agency of these evil spirits, against whom they have no defense but the art of their conjurors. To question their skill or dispute the power and agency of the evil spirits would be thought the height of presumption, at the hazard of life.

As far as I have been able to discover, Indians have considered it wrong to pray unto God, or ask any favor of him. They say it implies dissatisfaction with our condition and irreverent attempt to influence the Divine Being. To give thanks to God for his benefits and submit with quietness to the allotment of his providences is our duty. These sentiments, which I believe are very general, if not universal, shut them out from all application to God except the influence they may suppose their religious rites have in moving the Divine Being to be propitious to them.

Indians, as has been observed, bear suffering with great fortitude, but at the end of this fortitude is desperation. Suicides are frequent among the Senecas. I apprehend this despondency is the principal cause of their intemperance. Most of the children and youth have an aversion to spirituous liquor, and rarely taste it until some trouble overtakes them. Their circumstances are peculiarly calculated to depress their spirits, especially these contiguous to white settlements. Their ancient manner of subsistence is broken up, and when they appear willing and desirous to turn their attention to agriculture, their ignorance, the inveteracy of their old habits, the disadvantages under which they labor, soon discourage them; though they struggle hard little is realized to their benefit, beside the continual dread they live in of losing their possessions. If they build they know not who will inhabit. If they make fields they know not who will cultivate them. They know the anxiety of their white neighbors to get possession of their lands. They know in all their transactions with white men, in war or negotiation, they have prevailed against them, and they are filled with

desponding fears that it will continue to be so. Their religion affords them no relief. They know not the way to God nor how to cast their cares upon him. They are wandering in the wilderness in a solitary way, they have found no city to dwell in; hungry and thirsty their souls fainting in them. They sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction. Their hearts are brought down with labor. They have fallen down and there is no helper. Thanks be to God we have reason to hope they are beginning to cry unto the Lord in their troubles. He will deliver them out of their distresses, send his word and heal them, and they will soon join in the anthems of the redeemed. Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness and his wonderful works to the children of men. For this let us labor, for this let us pray.

SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL AND PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION AMONG THE SIX NATIONS.

In writing on this article I confess my information is very scanty. I shall state things as I have heard them from Indians and others, except what has passed under my own observation, hoping some abler pen will correct my errors and give a faithful statement.

The Mohawks.* I have understood from the Indians that the French sent a missionary among the tribe as early as when they were in quiet possession of Canada. The first missionary the Mohawks killed. Soon after his death the Indians were visited with a grievous sickness which carried off great numbers. They considered this extremity a judgment sent on them for their cruelty to the missionary. As an atonement for the offense and to avert the evil they were suffering they sent to the French an acknowledgment of their wrong, desiring they would send them another missionary. The French complied with their request; part of the tribe received and listened to his instruction. The mis-

*Mr. Hyde is too vague in his allusions to the early French missions among the Mohawks and other tribes to make his account of value. When he writes of his own experiences and observation among the Senecas, he makes a welcome contribution to knowledge.

sionary persuaded them that, were in favor of religious instruction to remove with him into Canada and settle at the St. Regis. This part of the tribe remain there to this day in communion with the Church of Rome, but what their attainments are in the divine life of religion, and their progress in civilization, I am unable to say, only I never heard anything very favorable of either, but the contrary. The remainder of the Mohawks adhered to the British; a remnant live on the Grand River in Upper Canada. They are professedly Episcopalian, and make great account of having their children baptised. They have a church and a clergyman (who I have understood is paid by the Government) visits them several times in the year and administers the ordinances. I have understood the morals of the Mohawks are very loose, that they are much addicted to intemperance, fiddling, dancing and low dissipation. Several of the Mohawks have been educated in England but none of them as I ever learnt have proved pious useful men. Schools have been attempted, but little proficiency has been made in education.

Onondagas. The French sent a missionary to this tribe about the same time they sent the one to the Mohawks. The Onondagas killed him. The French sent out an armed force to avenge the blood. The Onondagas were apprised of their approach time enough to escape into the woods. The French burnt the towns, but before they reached Canada the Indians rallied, pursued and overtook them, and cut off almost the whole company. The Onondagas have ever since pertinaciously refused all Christian instruction. The Onondagas in the State of New York are in numbers somewhere about 300.

Oneidas. Whether any attempts had been made to instruct this tribe before Mr. Kirkland came among them I have not learnt. It must be now about fifty years since he commenced his labors with this tribe. I have never seen any journal of his labors. Mr. Jenkins his successor informed me that when he first went among the Oneidas he found the state of religion very low. It was considerable

time before he could find sufficient evidence of Christian knowledge and piety to administer the ordinances. After he had labored with them a number of years they experienced something of a revival of religion, and numbers were added to the church. The Oneidas were formerly nearly equally divided into two parties, called the Christian and the pagan party. Mr. Williams, their present teacher, commenced his labors with the pagan party. Soon after Mr. Williams commenced his labors Mr. Jenkins gave up his charge.

The Oneidas as a people are professedly Christian. Their parties are now distinguished by the old and new Christian party. Great numbers have been confirmed by the Bishop and several have been received to the communion. Mr. Williams informed me that twenty of the old church have been suspended or excluded from communion. What the attainments of some of the Oneidas may be in knowledge and obedience to the Gospel, or what progress some of them have made in the civil arts I cannot say. We would hope there are some of them who are witnesses for God and adorn their profession. But it is generally reported that the Oneidas as a people are the most intemperate and vicious of any of the Six Nations. Mr. Williams informed me that he greatly feared if the Oneidas were not removed away from the white people, all attempts would prove fruitless in preventing their total degeneracy and annihilation.

Tuscarora. The Gospel was introduced into this tribe more than twenty years ago by the New York Missionary Society. In its progress many difficulties have opposed themselves. The church at present consists of 16 members who in the judgment of charity are sound in the faith and orderly in their walk, but it is to be feared most of them are far below that attainment the Church experienced when "great grace was upon them all."

Here I would remark that the Gospel has gone a begging among the Indians. To be willing to receive it cut and dried, free of any charge or any exertion on their part ex-

cept renouncing their ancient rites and abstaining from immoralities, I fear has been too much the standard of Indian attainments, without discovering the necessity of that benevolent principle which is exemplified in the Divine Saviour who though he was rich for our sakes became poor that through his poverty many might be made rich, and was also exemplified in the Apostles in foregoing every suffering and self-denying service to publish the Gospel to sinners and rescue souls from destruction and was insisted on and practiced by the primitive Christians in their liberal self-denying services for the promotion of the Gospel. The peculiar situation of the natives, the clamor of applause has no doubt had an effect on missionaries in making them too reserved in insisting on the great principles of Christianity. We ought to deal gently with the sick and lame in our exertions to relieve them but the great end of our exertion, if there remains a possibility, is to restore them to soundness and health that they may not only be able to help themselves but assist others. If it should be allowed that Divine life may possibly exist in a subject who appears at ease because he trusts he is safe without any operative concern for the safety of others, it cannot flourish. The Indians must be urged out of this wretched subterfuge. They must be plainly told that he that loveth gifts will not be rich; it is only the liberal soul that will be made fat; that they are not their own but bought with a price. Without that ardent desire for the salvation of others which will prompt to devising liberal, self-denying service for others, they are wanting in evidence that they have the Spirit of him who redeemed us with his blood.

But to return to the Tuscaroras. This tribe contains rising of 300 souls in this State. The pagan party of late have made violent struggles, and as their last resort they determined to break the tribe up by persuading such a number to move into Canada that the remainder would not be of importance for a missionary establishment. About 70 have emigrated this Spring. It is to be hoped this will be the means of stirring up these that remain to value and im-

prove their privileges, that their candlestick may not be removed out of its place. The New York Society has been at considerable labor and expense to maintain a school among the Tuscaroras, but their progress in education has been small.

Cayugas. Of this tribe there are 450 residing in this State and at Sandusky in Ohio, and a considerable number of them reside in Canada. They have disposed of all their lands and are scattered among the other tribes. No attempts have been made as I ever heard to evangelize them as a tribe by themselves. Their language is very similar to the Senecas.

Senecas. This tribe is the most numerous and wealthy of any of the Six Nations. There are more than 2000, beside a number scattered to the westward. They possess 230 square miles of excellent land, mostly in the State of New York. I do not know when the first attempt was made to introduce the Gospel among them. From Mr. Brainerd's journal it appears he visited one village of the Six Nations, but he had but little opportunity with them. Mr. Kirkland visited the Senecas and related something concerning them. Mr. Crane, missionary from the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, visited them in ——* but was rejected. The Friends, from their Society in Philadelphia, commenced an establishment among the Senecas on the Alleghany river in 1798, another establishment at Cattaraugus of later date. Their object was not to instruct them in the truths of the Gospel, but correct their habits and teach them agriculture and the useful arts. By the reports of their visiting committees it appears they succeeded in a measure in their attempts, and were a means of improving the condition of the Indians, correcting their habits and adding to their comfort in living. Of late years they have made some attempts at school, but their success has not been very flattering. The New York Missionary Society

*Blank in the original. Mr. Hyde wrote "Crane," but evidently referred to Rev. Mr. Cram, who had been rejected about 1802. The Rev. J. C. Crane, as we have seen (p. 126) came among the Tuscaroras in 1809, and gave long and acceptable service.

made several attempts to introduce the Gospel among the Senecas, but did not succeed until the establishment of the present mission in 1811. This mission consisted of a minister and schoolmates. The minister was rejected. Here I would give a brief account of my sojourning among the Senecas and the views I have in regard to civilizing and evangelizing Indians. I must say in much feebleness infirmity and many temptations I have been with this people. To nothing but sovereign mercy and Divine patience ought it to be attributed that I have been preserved and upheld through the various vicissitudes, contending interests from within and without to which I have been subject. It has not been from any stability of character, prudence or goodness of my own, but to the good pleasure of him who worked all things according to the council of his own will be all praise for any favor I may have had in the sight of the natives, any influence I may have had with them; and if in any measure this influence may have been improved for their good. When I look back on the path the Lord hath led me to humble me, prove me and show me what is in my heart, it is marked with Divine goodness, it is marked with Divine patience. The faith, patience and liberality of the Society in bearing so long and supporting such an instrument under such discouraging circumstances must be attributed to the secret influence of him in whose hand are all hearts and who turneth them whithersoever he will.

I engaged in the work with no adequate views of its arduous and responsible trust, and illy qualified to perform its duties and encounter its difficulties. My station was a subordinate one, a school-teacher under the direction and superintendence of the missionary. I did not engage in the work with that feeling sense of my special need of divine direction and support as I ought. I viewed it as an ordinary concern. My mind had not been exercised with any special solicitude for Indians. I have been thus particular in stating what I was not, to warn those that may hereafter engage in the work what they ought to be if they would not learn it by the hardest [way] and hinder the work they undertake to promote.

The missionary as has been said was rejected. Instead of deriving any assistance from him the prejudices that were excited became a serious embarrassment to my introduction. However, after waiting seven months I was able to open a school. The prospect at first was flattering. A goodly number of children attended and their proficiency was as good as could have been expected. The war took place the next Summer, which threw everything into confusion on the frontier. Several times the school was interrupted. A few children attended but were very irregular. After the war the school revived for a short time, but soon dwindled. None of the first scholars persevered. During the six years that I professed to act as a school teacher I had several sets of new scholars and not one of them made proficiency that promised to be of any use to them. My heart was deeply affected at the prospect which forbid the hope that anything would ever be effected in this way. Whether the situation of the natives so much affected me as the scoffs of those that ridiculed all attempts for their improvement, I know not. "We told you so," they would say. "It is worse than in vain to attempt to instruct Indians. It is not only labor and property thrown away, but if anything is effected it is only making them worse. Not one instance can be found from the first settlement of the country that education has proved a blessing to an Indian, but an injury." Such like language greatly distressed me, but I believe it was salutary and needful, a powerful means of stirring up my sinking spirits. It appeared to me the honor of God was concerned, the power of his grace disputed. Not only my feeble efforts were derided, but all attempts that had been or might be made. I am persuaded no one means so powerfully operated in buoying up my sinking mind and encouraged me to hope that God would arise and plead his own cause, as the scoffs of the enemy. I remember one instance among many. I was from home in feeble health and great depression of spirits. A person of considerable note enquired of me the prospect among the Indians. I answered, "Discouraging." He went on with the common rant, ex-

posing the folly of attempting to civilize and Christianize Indians. I replied, notwithstanding the discouraging appearances and the ill success of former attempts, we knew not what good Divine Providence might have in store for Indians. He retorted, "Do you think, Mr. Hyde, that Divine Providence will concern itself with a little handful of Indians?" It was to me like a shock of electricity. I forgot my feebleness and hastened home with full assurance or full determination that the enemy would not always triumph.

In this manner the Lord was pleased to stir me up, spur me on and encourage me to hope. My attachment to the Indians became very strong. The more I became acquainted with them the more I saw their misery, and the more deeply I was impressed that nothing but the Grace of God which brought salvation could reach their case and effect their deliverance.

The plan to civilize and then Christianize Indians appeared to me as a project of man's devising, inverting the Saviour's order, and could issue in nothing but in humiliating demonstrations "that the foolishness of God is wiser than man and the weakness of God is stronger than man." Without the motives of the Gospel we can get no hold on Indians. Those three powerful engines that move the civilized world, "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life," have never been brought to operate with any success on Indians. Lay aside the motives of the Gospel and these are all we have to work with. From the first settlement of this country to this day I doubt whether all the glare, indulgence and comforts of civilized life that has been exhibited before Indians and all the pains that have been taken to persuade them has impressed one to come out from his people, adopt civilized habits and become a member of civilized society. Doubtless the Indians are as devout worshipers of the world-trinity as civilized society, but they prefer their easy, indolent way to our laborious, ceremonious, litigious rites. They will acknowledge they fare rougher, but they have less labor, anxiety and conten-

tion, which taken into the account leaves a balance in their favor.

If it should be said that the success of the Friends are stubborn facts in opposition to the foregoing reasoning, far be it from me to detract from the merits of their labors. The Friends have done well, and deserve the thanks of all who wish well for our race for their persevering, self-denying labors for the amelioration of the condition of the natives. The consolation of seeing that their labors were not in vain, the misery they have prevented and the comforts they have been instrumental in promoting, must ever be pleasant to their recollection and grateful to all who participate in the sympathies of men. But I still doubt whether without the life-giving power of Divine truth, without a turning to God through the Mediator, the God-man Christ Jesus, receiving him as their King and trusting in him as their only hope—I doubt whether their outward improvements would ever arrive to that stability that would stand a day without holding it up, or that stability that would prevent them from wasting away and becoming extinct. Many things may look encouraging and promise fair which come to nothing. "All flesh is grass and all its glory as the flower of the field, but the Word of the Lord endureth forever;" but could the pressure of external circumstances and the kind attention of Friends raise the Indians to the highest state of industry and prudent management of their worldly concerns while they remained in the gall of bitterness, in the bond of iniquity, ignorant of God and the worth of their souls, what have we done for them! What have we done for immortals hastening unprepared to the Judgment! We may have added a few comforts to their uncertain life, but the Word of God is far from making these fleeting comforts the great end of our existence; so far from it, it says, "Labor not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." The Word of God requires that we use everything in this world in subserviency to the great end of our existence, an eternal state. If the Word of God requires this of us, why should

those that knew these things begin any lower with any of our fellow immortals, bound to the same eternal state? Obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, a desire to promote the best good of our fellow men, and the only warrant of being essentially useful, seems to require that we begin here with the most ignorant, fallen and hopeless of our race. The truth is, man has forsaken God his Maker, the fountain of all true wisdom and comfort, continuing to wander from God; whether sage or savage he is lost and miserable. The insulted majesty of Heaven seems to require that the first step of man's return to prosperity and peace should be his return to God.

Whatever the Nimrods may have done in consolidating tribes with blood and building up empires with violence, whatever despotism and necessity may have done in enforcing law and discipline for the preservation of the State; whatever pride, luxury and royal patronage may have done in introducing and promoting the arts, the refinements and the elegancies of life, is not to the point. These are weapons the Christian cannot use, neither do I possess sufficient information to say that those nations without the light of the gospel that have attained to great celebrity in the elegant and useful arts have in every case been consolidated by force and cemented with blood. Perhaps the colony of Nod may be an exception; but to Christians I would say, that the commission of the Saviour, the conduct of the Apostles, appear to me imperative; that we begin instruction no lower with the most ignorant and barbarous than Jesus Christ and him crucified, and I apprehend on no subject can we reason so intelligibly and demonstrably as on the sinful and miserable condition of man. The just anger of God that is out against him, the cause of all his woes, his hopeless and helpless state, and his need of an Almighty helper, if his heart is open to receive what his conscience must testify is true, he is prepared to welcome the glad news, the riches of a Saviour's love. Bring men back to God and let them yield themselves his servants, and they are prepared to perform the duties of their several stations just in proportion

to their devotedness and humility. Brainerd and Elliot began with Jesus Christ and him crucified, and the Lord prospered them. The single word "repent," accompanied with the influence of the Holy Spirit I apprehend would do more in civilizing Indians than a century spent in moral lectures on the benefits of civilized habits. These views led me to total despair of doing anything for the benefit of the Indians while they pertinaciously refused the Gospel.

I will now resume the subject of the progress of the Gospel and civilization among the Senecas within my own observation.

I have stated that I was led to despair of doing anything for them while they refused to listen to the Gospel, but this conviction was a progressive work on my mind. The Indians did not profess to be openly opposed to the Gospel, but it was something they could not attend to, nor attain to, at present. "Educate our children," say they, "and they will probably embrace your religion, and future generations of Indians will doubtless become Christian." But this was only an evasion. The Summer of 1817 Mr. Buttrick lived with me. I indulged the hope that his meek and affectionate manner would interest the Indians in his favor and influence them to listen to his instruction; but they stood aloof from him, and when I pressed them to attend to his instructions, they answered they would not have a minister stay among them. This determined me no longer to dally with them. Jesus hath said, "He that refuseth you refuseth me." It appeared to me unwarrantable to encourage the Indians that any good could come to them by any instruction, while they obstinately refused the instruction that God had sent. Accordingly I informed them of my purpose of relinquishing the school, desiring an opportunity to tell them all my mind on the subject. I waited four months before a suitable opportunity presented. The opportunity was a good one. Twenty-one chiefs from the different villages met in council to devise means for their preservation. They sent for me. I spoke two whole days in succession. I endeavored to exhibit before them their situation, their pros-

pects, and to demonstrate that certain inevitable ruin awaited them in the present and future world unless they sought unto God through the mediation of his Son, received and obeyed the Gospel. Their help alone was in God. This help from God must come to them through the mediation of his Son. To refuse the Son was to refuse all help from God. Refusing help from God in his appointed way, no other being in the universe could help them. They would be broken with a rod of iron and dashed to pieces like a potter's vessel.

I trust the Lord helped me to speak in some measure as I ought, and he opened their understanding to perceive the truth. There appeared evidently a noise and a shaking among the dry bones. In their answer they expressed their conviction of the truth and importance of the gospel, and their willingness to listen to it. For two months there appeared evidently a great alteration for the better. They did many things and abstained from many things. But a cloud appeared gathering over them. Before the Spring council I never witnessed so dark a season. It appeared as though the abyss had been opened upon us. But the Spring council opened with a dawning of light. A general conviction pervaded the Indians almost universally that they were in a bad case. As things went on inevitable ruin awaited them. They as universally came to this conclusion, that their ways did not please God, or it would not be so with them. This became the great question: "How shall we please God, and secure his friendship?"

Before the council broke up in this place they agreed to appoint another at Tonawanta to meet in one month to discuss the subject of religion. According, they met; a full representation from all the villages and from Canada. They sat twelve days. From all I could learn of this council it appeared to be an honest inquiry after truth, the way to please God and secure his favor; though very few I apprehend expected to find the truth anywhere else than in their old religion. The wisdom of the tribes was collected to investigate and show what the doctrines and duties were

and the safety of their religion. I cannot state all that was discussed at this council but I have understood their ancient religion was thoroughly investigated. The council came to this conclusion: To please God and secure his favor they must put away the evil of their doings; and it was enjoined on the representatives of the different villages to call the people of their respective villages together, and each individual for himself to enter into an engagement to put away his particular sins. This was generally observed, if not universally. This engagement, or oath, was a voluntary act, each binding himself by such penalties as he chose to assume. Some pledged all their hopes of future happiness on their forfeiture or failure of fulfilling this engagement. How general these solemn pledges were I cannot say, but I suspect very general.

Another council was appointed at Tonawanta to report their proceedings and success. This council I think was about two months from the first. About the meeting of the second council a dissatisfaction began to manifest itself with their old religion. This goodness proved like a morning dew. Several who had pledged their eternal all fell; by their own mouths they were condemned and shut up in despair. The first dissatisfaction I heard expressed to their religion was, that it did not extend far enough; it was good as far as it went, but it did not reach to their deliverance. At this time I was translating the third chapter of John. As it was my first attempt I proceeded very cautiously. Every opportunity an Indian of intelligence called on me I read my translation to ascertain if it was correct. The doctrine of the new birth was a new and strange subject to them and became matter of considerable conversation. Though their notions were confused yet some of them learnt that to be approved of God we needed a higher principle than we naturally possessed, but this principle they seemed to have no other conception of than an attainment of their own through their diligence and watchfulness. But I apprehend this opportunity was of more use to them than I had any conception of at the time. They learnt the gospel

taught something beyond their religion, viz., the necessity of a Divine principle in the heart to do works acceptable to God, and they felt the necessity of this Divine principle. Their religion taught a good system of morality, but they found that haranguing men on the beauty and reasonableness of virtue and God's approbation of it, and on the odiousness, unreasonable and destructive nature of sin, and God's righteous displeasure against sin, was without effect; and even men's assenting to what was good, and their solemn engagements to follow after the good, to put away and abstain from the evil, was without effect. He that was filthy was filthy still. Therefore they said (the first advocates for the Gospel), our religion is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough to afford us help. This was the first weapon the advocates of the Gospel used with success: the necessity of a Divine principle to influence the heart that men might do and persevere in works acceptable to God. Oh that many Christian Doctors would learn of these poor ignorant Indians, that their works might be found approved of God! With this argument they overwhelmed their opposers; they could not gainsay it. The necessity was obvious, and it was generally assented that the Gospel went beyond their religion in an essential and necessary article.

But the question of expediency was then started up. "Granting the Gospel is more excellent, and goes beyond our religion, yet many of our people cannot see and feel it is so. It would be highly improper and tend to great confusion to be divided, part holding to old religion and part to gospel." It was argued that those in favor of Gospel ought patiently to wait until all were willing to receive it. [In] the Spring and Summer of 1818 the minds of the Indians were continually agitated with the subject of religion. I should judge parties of them met more than two days in a week during the whole time to converse on the subject, but this was all carried on without me except the conversation I had with individuals on the third chapter of John, and I was wholly ignorant at the time that my conversa-

tion had any bearing on their matters in debate. I knew their minds were agitated with religious subjects and I had a trembling anxiety for the issue, but as they never asked me to their council but once I saw nothing I could do but look on.

I now come to the period when I commenced my labors regularly with them on the Sabbath.

The 16th of August [1818] five young men of best families among the Senecas came to the schoolhouse where I and family had gone that day to carry on a meeting among ourselves. They came in and informed us they had come to learn the will of God made known in his word. They were wearied out with being held off until all were agreed. They five had agreed to observe the Sabbath and listen to the instructions of the Word of God. For four weeks they stood alone, encountering all the ridicule the Opposition were pleased to bestow. The 15th of September four other young men of similar character joined us with similar professions. Our meetings now made considerable interest. The opposition assumed a more formidable appearance and contended earnestly against these innovations. But I trust to our young men was given a mouth of wisdom which none of their adversaries were able to gainsay. The gospel gained ground; every Sabbath more or less came in to see this new way. Several who at first came in as mere idlers attached themselves to us and we considered them joining our meetings. The wives of our young men were won over by their husbands, [and] as their diffidence gave way joined us. Three elderly women joined us, two of them were mothers of the young men, the other was a white woman, a captive taken when a child, and one old chief, a captive taken when a child, the father of two of the young men. A precious company, the first fruits of the Senecas; all have persevered to this day.

For two months we sang and prayed in English. I spoke to them through an interpreter. In October some of the Tuscaroras visited us and conducted the singing in Indian, on the Sabbath. One of our nine young men belonging at Tonawanta manifested a desire to learn to sing; we invited

him to call on us as frequently as he could and we would instruct him. He called on us frequently, manifested a great desire to learn, and made some progress. At one time while he was attempting to sing some of the Indians came in, accosting him: "What! You think you can sing?" He answered, "God allows it; if he pleases can help me; I shall not be bashful." For two weeks he stood alone, with increasing anxiety. Then two or three others manifested a desire to sing. I informed them that in singing we were a great assistance to each other. If they desired to sing we would appoint a season for that purpose, when all desirous to learn could attend. We appointed Wednesday evening. All our nine young men attended. We taught them until late in the evening, then left them in the school-house, but they were too engaged to sleep; they sung at intervals all night.*

The singing excited a great interest. Our Wednesday

* It was perhaps of this same young convert that Mr. Hyde wrote as follows, Dec., 1819, to the Juvenile Charitable Society in Lenox, Mass.:

"Tonawanta, a Seneca village, thirty miles from Buffalo, had been the headquarters of opposition. A young man of this village was among the first nine who publicly embraced Christianity. During three months' instruction, which he received at Buffalo, he made progress, in religious knowledge, and in sacred music, of which Indians are extremely fond, and admirable performers. He then returned to Tonawanta, carrying with him a hymn-book in his native language. These hymns he sang to his neighbors, and became the open advocate of Christianity. Though opposed and ridiculed, he remained steadfast, and persevered. Success followed. In a few months eleven young men had renounced paganism, and determined to listen to the word of God, and to obey its precepts. These twelve met frequently for the purpose of singing hymns, and for religious conversation. This alarmed the chiefs, who complained that these young men 'were filling Tonawanta with their doctrine.' A council of the people was called, and the young men entreated and admonished to renounce their new religion. When they found entreaties and admonitions vain, they *'commanded'* them to desist from advocating Christianity, and singing Christian hymns.' The young men, one excepted, who drew back and left his companions, said firmly, 'We shall not obey you in this thing.' The chiefs then commanded them to 'leave the Reservation and go to Buffalo, where such things were allowed, and not remain to disturb their village with their new and wicked ways.' The young men refused to go, and to leave their possessions, saying, 'You can take our lives; but you need not expect us to renounce the Gospel of Jesus Christ.' The effects of this persecution, on the one hand, and of the firmness and patience in resisting and bearing it, on the other, have been such as might be expected; converts to civilization and Christianity have been multiplied." About this time twenty-four Senecas removed from Tonawanta (the old Indian village of course being meant) to Buffalo.

evening meetings became crowded. In four weeks we were able to conduct our singing on the Sabbath in Indian, our school-house became too small to accommodate our singers. We appointed to sing in two other villages. Everything now appeared to be giving way before the Gospel. The old chiefs who had stood aloof professed an attachment to Christianity and attended our meetings. But a trial awaited us for which we wanted all our strength, and we were provided in season, though it has tried us hard, yet I have no doubt has been overruled to the furtherance and stability of the gospel among us. Our situation required the interference of the New York Missionary Society, who sent out two commissioners to investigate our circumstances and direct the affairs of the mission. The Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas entered into covenant with the New York Missionary Society. Through these commissioners on the part of the Society they engaged to send them teachers free of expense as their ability would allow and the necessity of Indians require and their profiting should appear. The Indians on their part agreed to receive their teachers, listen to their instruction when agreeable to the Word of God, to advise and council with the Society, etc. While this business was transacting not one word of opposition was heard; but one chief of any considerable note that did not sign the covenant and he was absent. But soon after the commissioners left us the opposition showed itself. The covenant was made the ostensible ground. The pagans charged the Christian party with selling themselves the bond slaves of the ministers, who would eat up their land and consume them off the earth. They called a council at Tonawanta to consult on the subject. From this council they sent out runners to warn all the villages of the evil that had been done by these innovators, desiring their vigorous coöperation to put away this mischief before it spread any further. All the villages received their messengers.

The Christian party sent out runners to counteract this confederacy, but none of the villages received them, only warned them to prepare to give an account of themselves

at the Spring council. These vigorous movements of the opposition, their determination and numbers, spread considerable consternation among our raw recruits. Two chiefs that had signed the covenant deserted us and none dared to join themselves.

It may not be improper to give a few details of this council. The council did not meet until June. It came upon us with all the fury we had anticipated. The chief councilors stepped back or "off their seats," as they expressed it, and allowed the warriors to open the council, enquire into and report the state of the nation. The warriors reported that the council fire was in confusion; some were pulling brands one way and some another. As things went on some would get burnt, and all were endangered. The cause was sought out and found to be the Christian party. They were then called upon to tell what they had done, and the reasons of their conduct.

The council opened in due form on Thursday, June —. It was an awfully interesting day. The council occupied a large barn, the Christians the floor, the opposition a large bay, facing each other. The opposition to appearances were six to one of the Christians, as every individual of the distant villages took sides with the opposition, to enquire into the conduct of the Christians. The first day was occupied by the Christian party in giving account of themselves. They produced the covenant, which had been such a bone of contention, and had it read. The next day was assigned for the pagans to make their reply. The council was removed to a council house in another village. The debates were warm and animated; several speakers on both sides spoke this day. From my ignorance of their language I am unable to give even an extract of what was said. I learned that [the] pagans labored to rouse the pride and resentment of their people by reminding them what they were before the white people came into their country. They were prosperous and happy and God was with them. The beginning of their being diminished and brought low was their first acquaintance with white men. They had introduced many

evils among them [to] which before they were strangers. It was in vain to look for any good from a people who were the source of all their evils. Besides, these Indians that had the most affinity with white men and received their teachers were the most fallen and miserable of the Indians. The speakers referred their people to the antiquity of their religion, the care with which their fathers had handed it down to them, the dishonor they would cast on the memory of their fathers should they now cast all their instructions behind their backs, and it would be provoking to God, who had showed them so much favor before they became corrupted with the notions of white men. This I understood was the strain of the pagans. The celebrated Red Jacket exerted all his eloquence in their defence.

The Christian party contended that all the wisdom and piety of their fathers had not saved their people from being spoiled and their country wrested from them. The calamities they now suffered came upon them under the management of their fathers, and the same course persisted in must end in their utter ruin. It was not true that all their calamities had come upon them through the agency of white men. They themselves had plunged into destructive wars with their own sort of people, to the wasting of their own lives and the lives of their brethren, thereby exciting and perpetuating their enmity. All this their fathers had done from no other motive than the gratification of their pride and thirst for blood.* Their fathers had prophesied of these days, that their descendants would be brought into great straits, and these that should be last would see great afflictions. By the course their fathers pursued it appeared they were determined to secure the accomplishment of their predictions. They had yielded up their country and cut off the possibility of a retreat. Whatever the former prosperity

*Note in original MS.: The Senecas have been celebrated for their military achievements. They conquered the Delawares, Wyandots, Shawnees, and some other tribes. They have had long and bloody wars with the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chippeways and other Western tribes. Perhaps one of the most powerful restraints that deters them from emigrating to the West is the recollection of these wars and the consequent animosities which they expect would leave them but these two alternatives, vassalage or extermination.

and happiness of their fathers had been, those days were past. Their advantages were gone, it was impossible to follow their steps and escape ruin.

The foregoing is a summary of their political reasonings. Those better acquainted with the Gospel urged its authority. The designs of God to recover all nations from the darkness which covered them; the certainty that this would be accomplished; Jesus Christ was King of Nations; those that did not submit to his authority, receive him as their teacher, Saviour and King, would be crushed beneath his power.

The foregoing is rather a brief summary of the views and management of the subject in debate by the contending parties, than an extract of the debates. No woman attended the council except the three elderly women I have before mentioned. One of them came in and took a seat behind Mr. Crane and myself on a wide platform with which their houses are furnished. The other two stood outside, looking through the cracks. The deep interest that was visible in their countenances was very encouraging.

Saturday the council met in the same place. The debates were more promiscuous, personal and irritating. This day an indecorum took place I never before witnessed in an Indian council; two speakers were up at the same time, but there was no contention; the speaker up last made his apology and sat down. Our three elderly women attended and took seats behind Mr. Crane and myself. I mention these women because the anxiety manifested by them was so pleasant to us, and it may be found that the wrestling of their souls prevailed in behalf of their poor perishing people. On this day some zealous friends of the opposition handed Jacket a piece published in the *Recorder* taken from the *Sangerfield Monitor* entitled "Good News" in relation to these Indians. This was handed to Jacket to show him how basely he was misrepresented in the public prints, supposing a suspicion could be fixed on me as the author; but I was enabled to satisfy the council that I had no hand in the representation.

Sunday my people met for public worship with some of the Allegany chiefs. My subject, "For the love of Christ constraineth us." I trust the Lord helped me to exhibit in some measure the constraining motives that influenced the servants of Jesus to publish his Gospel to sinners in spite of all opposition, and the certain triumphs of the Gospel, being pushed forward by the unconquerable love of God and the welfare of immortal souls. Men might rather hope to extinguish the sun with buckets than put out the love of Jesus, shed abroad in the hearts of his servants, or prevent the final triumphs of the Gospel.

In the afternoon most of the men retired to the council, which was assembled. I understood this day was more boisterous than the preceding ones. The opposition used threatening language. Some of the Christian party I understood told the opposition they could take their lives but they trusted they should not renounce the Gospel.

Monday the Commissioners of the United States met with the Indians. These commissioners were appointed by the Government to treat with the Indians concerning relinquishing part of their lands and concentrating their whole population on one or two reservations. The subject of religion was dropped during this conference, which lasted four days. The Indians all united in opposing the proposition of the commissioners, and appointed Red Jacket their orator to deliver their sentiments, which he did with his wonted keenness, exceeding the bounds prescribed by the council. Jacket said they were not only determined not to part with any of their lands, but they were determined no white men should live on their land, missionaries, schoolmasters or Quakers.

The Christian party felt themselves injured by the declaration of Jacket. They called on the commissioners and informed them that the declaration of Jacket was unauthorized, it was not the sentiments of the Indians generally; they hoped the commissioners would not hand Jacket's talk to their Father the President as the feelings and views of his red children.

The Commissioners informed them it was then too late to make any alteration; they should have protested in the time of the council.

These concerns occupied the whole of the week. The next Sabbath we had a crowded audience. I purposed to speak from Kings 6: 16: "Fear not, for they that be with us are no more than they that be with them." But the Lord saw best I should not speak; my interpreter, through indisposition of body or mind did not attend. The Indians conducted the meeting principally among themselves. The conference with the commissioner so broke the thread of religious debate that it was not resumed. The council dispersed without deciding on anything, leaving every one to think and act for himself. Indeed, this was the termination to be desired.

The Allegany chiefs (except one) representing a population of more than 550 souls, declared in favor of the Gospel and espoused the cause of the Christian party. Cattaraugus, Tonawanta and Genesee, representing a population of 1000 souls, stood steadfast in their opposition. Two of our chiefs that had signed the covenant revolted and joined the opposition.

Here I feel constrained to look back on the way which this people has been led. First, that the Indians should in the first place investigate their own religion, know what it taught and what it could do, and that this investigation should be impartial and candid, agitated by no party or dissension. In this way those that afterward embraced Christianity were scribes well instructed in all the strength of their opponents. They knew all they did of their ancient religion, and all they knew of Christianity they knew beyond them.

Another thing worthy of remark: The strength of the Christians has been equal to their day. When they were feeble the opposition was feeble. As the opposition increased their strength has been increased and they have been provided for in every emergency. And [as to] the great council, in which the opposition from their numbers

and influence were sure of success, yet perhaps no other means could have been so well devised to diffuse the knowledge of Christianity as this council. The management of this council was wonderful. The interruption by the commissioners at a time when argument was at an end, and abuse, invective and menace were resorted to—what this would have come to with two contending parties both determined not to yield, it would be impossible to calculate; and the interruption of the commissioners had a conciliating effect. The Christians had been accused of abandoning their people and selling themselves to the white people. Here they had an opportunity to evince that they were the same friends to their people they had ever been, and were ready to unite with their opponents with all their might in resisting what they thought not for the interest of their people. And my being prevented from speaking from the text I had chosen and the frame of spirit I was in, ought not to be overlooked. I might have stirred up the embers and kindled a fire that might have done immense mischief. Is not the finger of God visible in this work? Is it not his hand that commenced and hath hitherto carried it on? And is it not portentous of some important era in Indian history?

From the dispersion of this council in June, 1819, many important events have transpired in the progress of the Gospel to this date; at least they are important to us who have seen and felt them, and they would be interesting to the pious mind who delights to contemplate the workings of Divine Providence, but it would swell the narrative to detail them, which is already extended beyond what was intended. I would only observe that my difficulties became so great with my people and the interpreter that I suspended my labors as a teacher from the 1st January to the 17th of April. [1820.] This was an afflictive dispensation to many of my people and to myself, but I trust it has been good for us both. It checked the rapid growth of external Christianity and opened the mouth of the enemy; but I would hope that Christianity took root downward and stands more substantially than it did before this chilling blast. It

may safely be said that external Christianity has been progressing among the Senecas from its first commencement. Soon after the council a seed was found in Tonawanta. One of the first of nine young men that joined us belonged at Tonawanta. He returned and carried the little he knew of Christianity with him; he advocated the Gospel amid much ridicule and opposition. One joined him, soon a second, then one of them apostasized, but he was not discouraged. More joined until their numbers amount now to thirty, mostly young men and women who meet on the Sabbath for religious [purpose], sing and pray and converse on religion.

A few weeks after the council two of the principal chiefs of Cattaraugus came to our meeting. They said they had been thinking of the opposition they made to the Christians; they were persuaded they had done wrong. They had to learn the present minds of their brethren in this place, if they still adhered to the Gospel they wished to follow their direction who enjoyed better advantages than they did to know the will of God. From that time there has been a Christian party in Cattaraugus, struggling with much darkness, prejudice and persecution. I have visited them once; some of them keep the Sabbath; twelve young men have assembled to sing Christian hymns. One of their chiefs reported to Dr. Morse on his return the first of this month that half of that reservation was in favor of a preached Gospel. Their numbers are 360.*

Allegany. The chiefs that joined the Christian party

* In the summer of 1820 the Rev. Jedidiah Morse of New Haven made a tour, under a commission from President Monroe, "for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the Government, the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country." On the same tour, he also represented the Honorable and Reverend Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, and the Northern Missionary Society in the State of New York. He arrived in Buffalo late in May of that year. A council of the Six Nations had been appointed at this place, to convene June 1st, which he was expected to attend. "As however," he wrote in his report to the Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, "the steamboat for Detroit was to depart the 31st May, and the omission to take that opportunity would delay us a fortnight, deranging all my plans for the West, I left a hasty speech with the agent [i. e., Jasper Parrish, sub-agent.] and Rev. Mr. Hyde, to be communicated with the Council, and embarked in the steamboat." Mr. Hyde communicated the address to the chiefs, June 1st; like many Government messages to the Indian, it consisted of generalities, smoothly phrased; regretted that the white people encroached upon them and

here have remained faithful. The Cornplanter, a former advocate for the Gospel and of whom hope was entertained by some [in] years past that he had experienced religion in his heart, for two years past has been at seasons in a state of derangement. He of late has come out prophet. (His brother was the famous Seneca prophet that died some years since at Onondaga.) He says that it has been revealed to him that God never designed the Christian religion or the habits of white men for Indians. He came up [to] the last Spring council to quiet this religious frenzy among his people and restore things as they were; but the Cornplanter has become broken down with age and affliction. The opposition, who had been at considerable exertion to get him up, were disappointed in his help, and the Christian party only looked on with pity and made no reply to his reveries. The Allegany chiefs reported to Dr. Morse that the number in favor of the Gospel with them was 225; 80 observed the Sabbath. A few young men have attended a few times with us to learn to sing, but I have not learnt that they have any association for singing. Their number by the last census was a little short of 600.

Genesee. Four hundred and sixty Senecas are scattered on that river. A few young men have attended with us a few times to learn to sing, and I understand a number associate for the purpose. As none of their chiefs were present when Dr. Morse was here we have had no report from [them].

pledged "the hand of sincere friendship." At Detroit, Dr. Morse received a letter from Mr. Hyde, written at Seneca Village, Buffalo, June 7th, inviting him, on behalf of the chiefs of the Christian party, to visit them on his return. Accordingly, on arriving in Buffalo, Aug. 8th, Dr. Morse attended a council which was then in session. "I found them convened in their council house, the Christian party on my right hand, Capt. Pollard at their head; the Pagan party on the left hand, with the celebrated Red Jacket, at their head." Pollard, Red Jacket and Cusick (for the Tuscaroras) made speeches. Dr. Morse exhorted them to be diligent at agriculture and embrace Christianity. For these speeches, Mr. Hyde's letters, etc., see "A Report to the Secretary of War . . . on Indian Affairs," etc., by the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., New Haven, 1822. Dr. Morse's report embraced an interesting report by James Young on the progress of school work at the Tuscarora mission (pp. 87-89); also statistics from the Alleghany, Cattaraugus and other reservations, reported to him at the Buffalo council.

Buffalo Reservation. We have here a respectable choir of singers, two very promising young men that appear able in prayer and exhortation. We observe the monthly concert, meet every Thursday evening for singing. Several appear serious and devout, and walk agreeable to the light they possess. The number the chiefs reported to Dr. Morse is 225 in favor of Christian instruction.

The foregoing is a brief summary of the progress of external Christianity among the Senecas. It is now two years and twelve days since one individual could be found that would dare openly profess an attachment and attend to Christian instruction. There are [now] as reported to Dr. Morse, 660, most of them the youth and flower of the nation, besides Genesee, which was not represented. It must be acknowledged, an important revolution in their minds—the work of God almost without any apparent means.

Their progress in civilization has been no less astonishing. Those that have attended Christian instruction have become emphatically new men. At once they become domesticated and appear like people at home. Freed from the burden of their ancient feast and ceremonies they save much time and much substance. I can safely say, for the last two years more fence has been made, more land subdued, more improvements in buildings, than in all the rest of the time that I have been with the Senecas, if not since they have been a people, and this almost exclusively among those that profess an attachment to the Gospel, except as others have been provoked to imitation. This I speak of the village in which I live, not because I have dwelt on this subject as essential to Christianity, but from their own impulse.

Schools are what they were and what we have reason to fear they will remain so long as we attempt to teach them English without a translation. One child after another will get discouraged with reading words of which he has no understanding. A century of arduous labor will bring the same result—none will be educated. I am speaking of children boarding in their families, and attending school a few hours in a day. The Senecas have no aversion to learning English, but they cannot learn it without a translation, or

their teacher possessing the language. Since they have manifested an attachment to Christian instruction many have manifested a strong desire to read. I have two old women, between sixty and seventy, that have manifested all the eagerness of youth to learn to read the Word of God that has been translated, and hymns in their own language.

The first inquiry among the Senecas of a religious nature was, What has God revealed in his word? and this continues to be the great inquiry. Youth and elderly people know they shall never be able to read the Word of God in English. Numbers read and learn my translations with eagerness. Those that had learnt to read words and syllables, very readily learn to read their own language. If God has used me in any measure as an instrument in promoting this great [work] I have every reason to believe it has been through my poor broken translations.

I have endeavored to place the Senecas before the Christian public, to excite them to pray and labor for them. All can safely pray; but in laboring all ought to take heed that they do not hinder the work. To those that desire to be co-workers with God I suggest: Let the Indians remain in quiet. Make no effort to remove or consolidate. Their minds are made up on both these subjects. They are determined not to remove, and they can see no reasons why they should be consolidated. One effort at either would greatly distress the minds of the Christian party and open the mouths of the pagans. Treat them cautiously; they are as timorous as hares. Force no door that is not fairly opened. I apprehend none of the places that I have mentioned are open for a missionary establishment. An effort to establish a mission at Tonawanta, Allegany, Cattaraugus or Genesee might at this time do more hurt than good. A godly, prudent man might labor in either place and with the blessing of God do much good, but let him go prepared to be let down over a well in a basket.

In the present circumstances of these Indians I could not advise an attempt to establish a missionary family like those at the southward. In these places, when they would receive a local mission, the circumstances of the natives do not

[?allow: *MS. torn*] it. They possess abundant means to feed and clothe them [*MS. torn*] but the most serious objection [is] to obtain lands sufficient for such establishments. If it could be effected might and would probably kindle a fire that many years of faithful exertions would not extinguish.

Dear Christian friends, the present is the most eventful period with the natives of our land, [which] they have ever seen since white men came among them. Many things indicate the Lord is about to stretch forth his hand to rescue them. The unusual interest that Christians take in them, the movement among themselves, all indicate an important epoch in the history of these long-lost wanderers of the wilderness. Let us be emulous of the honor of being co-workers with God.

Seneca Village, August 28th, 1820.

NOTE—Endorsed on the last page of the foregoing manuscript, though apparently not in Mr. Hyde's writing, is the following: "Red Jacket in his opposition to Christianity, is for mere popularity. His ambition is to head a party, and had he instead of Pollard been the head of the Christian party he would have as zealously supported as he has in his opposition opposed it. He is an infidel."

NOTE TWO—In 1827, on complaint prepared by Rev. T. S. Harris, Mr. Hyde was tried before the Presbytery of Buffalo, on the charges of "Slander, intermeddling and wilful and designed misrepresentation," which charges were sustained and he was suspended from the church. The facts are set forth at great length in a pamphlet by Mr. Hyde, published at Buffalo in 1827, of which the title is as follows: "A Review of the minutes and proceedings of the Presbytery of Buffalo . . . October 16, 17 and 18, 1827; for the trial of the Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, on charges preferred against him by Rev. T. S. Harris, missionary among the Seneca Indians. To which is annexed an appendix, containing documents referred to in the trial . . . Buffalo, H. A. Salisbury, Printer, 1827." It is a work of 73 pages, octavo, the preface dated Nov. 17 [1827]. Mr. Hyde reviews the action of the Presbytery, with long interpolations in his own justification. There is nothing in the testimony as printed that reflects at all seriously against his character, the difficulties between him and the Indians, Missionary Harris and others apparently having arisen out of petty misunderstandings and jealousies. In 1823 T. S. Harris and J. Young had published a little book of hymns in the Seneca; the Indians found it difficult to read, and Mr. Hyde undertook to supply a new one and claims to have done so. He also published a Seneca spelling-book, which Mr. Harris condemned as "very incorrect." Mr. Hyde's statement of these things is unaccompanied by dates, but both imprints were probably of but a few pages, and few copies printed. In a letter to the Rev. Timothy Alden, written at Buffalo May 3, 1827, Mr. Hyde states that he was "thrust out" from the Indians in 1821. After he was

dismissed by the United Foreign Missionary Society, the Presbytery of Niagara licensed him and gave him an itinerant commission to labor among the Senecas. "I was sustained in Buffalo," he writes, "one year and a half. Half a year I stately supplied the Indians at Buffalo, until their missionary came on. One year I itinerated among the unsupplied villages as my health and circumstances would permit." He made his home at Eden, Erie Co., where his wife died, apparently in 1824, leaving him with seven children to care for "in a considerable measure by the labor of my hands." In 1827, while engaged at Carroll, presumably as preacher, he undertook to interest the American Bible Society in the work of publishing the Scriptures in Seneca, issuing the work in parts; apparently he desired to be commissioned to do the translating; out of this came the charge of "intermeddling" with the work of the mission at Buffalo Creek.

In the *Buffalo Patriot* of Aug. 28, 1827, Mr. Hyde states his case at length; alleges that "the first impressions the Senecas had of the superiority of Christianity over the religion of their fathers, was derived from a translation of the III. Chapter of John's Gospel," the translation, apparently, being his own, though it is not known to have been printed. In this article he states: "I have now in press a small book of Hymns, and a Spelling-Book, or Analysis of the Seneca language." No copy of these works is known.

Mr. Hyde's subsequent career is unknown to the editor of the present volume, save for one incident. In 1848 there was issued from the press of Jewett, Thomas & Co., in Buffalo, portions of a work entitled "God in History, or the Accomplishment of His Purposes as declared by His servants the Prophets, exemplified in the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the World," by Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, "First received Missionary among the Seneca Indians." At least three parts were issued (8vo. pp. 96). It is not known whether it was completed on the original plan. In 1849 Mr. Hyde published in Buffalo (Press of George Recse & Co.) an octavo work of 104 pages, with the above title, to which is added: "Preceded by a review of Professor Stuart's Commentary on Revelations," the whole work apparently being devoted to the review, with no reprint or continuation of the "God in History."

X.

NARRATIVE OF ESTHER RUTGERS LOW.

HER SOJOURN AT THE TUSCARORA AND
SENECA MISSIONS, 1819-20.*

In the autumn of 1819 I left New York City in company with Mr. and Mrs. Young, our destination the Seneca mission on the Seneca Reservation near Buffalo, N. Y. We were to spend a few weeks *en route*, in Orange Co., N. Y., on a farm, to learn something of country work and life, and to take some lessons in riding horseback, a knowledge of

*Esther Rutgers Low, whose account of her experience at the Tuscarora and Seneca missions in 1819-20 is here printed, was born in New York City, May 10, 1798. Her father, John Low, was a bookseller and publisher of considerable note. At sixteen, she united with the Rutgers-Street Presbyterian Church, and in 1819, her parents being dead, she undertook the mission work here narrated. In Buffalo she met the Rev. David Remington, whose father, and uncle, Judge Erastus Granger, were among the earliest settlers of this city. She was married to David Remington, in New York City, in 1822, and together they went as missionaries to the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi. Returning to the North after some years, Mr. Remington died at Rye, New York, and Mrs. Remington with her young children made her home for a time in Buffalo. She died January 23, 1894, and is buried in this city, as is her son, the late Cyrus K. Remington. Her account of her early mission work in the vicinity of Buffalo is here for the first time published by kind permission from the manuscript in possession of her daughter, Miss Elizabeth H. Remington of this city.

which in those days was not simply a recreation, but a necessity in traveling. My first attempt at this accomplishment was rather amusing. We were all gathered on the piazza; my turn came last. I took my seat well in the saddle, and the horse was led by his owner to the end of the lane; then I was left to return alone—but in vain. I called for help. At last in despair I left it all to the pony, and there was great applause from the spectators when the gentle animal took his own way to the barnyard, stepping over bars and all obstructions till he stood before the stable door, waiting for some one to relieve him of his load, recalling the text, "The horse knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." But practice makes perfect and I became a good rider.

One Tuesday we said good-bye to these friends and took the stage to commence our journey to the Tuscarora mission. It was customary in those days for the driver at the foot of each mountain or hill to dismount and open the stage door and ask the gentlemen to please walk up the hill. So we would all volunteer to alight and relieve the dumb animals walking up the hills. On one occasion it was announced that there was a stage behindhand, and it would be necessary to ride all night to meet the U. S. mail. So by dint of riding all night and walking up hills we reached Canandaigua by daylight Sunday morning. I attended church all day—three services—and took the stage again early Monday morning, arriving at the Tuscarora mission the following day at 4 p. m.—a week of traveling.

The mission house was about four miles from the village of Lewiston, and about six from Niagara Falls. Lewiston counted at that time but few houses and one small church—it had been burned in the War of 1812. I listened to many moving accounts of the sufferings and distress occasioned by war.

We remained here while the house at Seneca was being made ready for us. While here I made some very pleasant friendships and attended the wedding of my friend Miss Patty Childs, who married Mr. Parsons. Also from here I made my first visit to Niagara Falls; a party of ten, all on

horseback. The old tavern now standing* was the first house built at the Falls. It was there we registered our names and put up our horses. We crossed to Goat Island on a bridge of one or two planks, and a few stakes with grape vines twisted about them sufficed for a balustrade. There was a rickety old staircase which extended about half way down to the river, which we descended and there left our wraps, and made the difficult ramble to the water's edge, then back again, slipping over rocks and stones, holding by the trees and bushes. None can now realize the exhilarating pleasure of freedom enjoyed then.

The Rev. J. E. Crane had at that time charge of the Tuscarora mission. The gospel was preached in English through an Indian interpreter to a congregation of less than 100, some forty of whom were members of the church. The Indians conducted the singing in their own language, which they wished to retain, although they wished their children to be instructed in the English language. They were also partial to their own mode of dress, which was much ornamented with beads, brooches and needlework. We made visits and took tea with some of the families, who adopted the fashions of the whites in setting the table, etc.

At last came the day for us to move. We had early breakfast and prayers. Drawn up before the door was a large country wagon double team; household goods piled up. We mounted to our seats prepared for us. The good-byes were said and we started, getting off to walk up the hill as usual. The roads were so rough, the mud so deep, that the horses were completely fagged out by the time we were half way to Buffalo; so we put up for the night at a tavern.

The second day through more mud and over more rough

* Parkhurst Whitney's Eagle Tavern, on the site of the present International Hotel. Gen. Whitney bought it in 1815 from John Fairchilds, the pioneer landlord at Niagara Falls. Originally of logs, two stories high, it later received a frame addition, and was much enlarged and improved at intervals. It was the first tavern at the Falls, but not the first house, Augustus Porter having built "a substantial home" in 1808. The Fairchilds log tavern did not antedate the burning of the village in 1813, and was probably built in 1814. It may have been the first house of the restoration.

roads; by evening we were at the village of Buffalo, and were made welcome and comfortable at the hospitable and Christian home of Mr. Ransom,* whose house stood on the spot now occupied by the First Universalist Church on Main Street.† The next day, through still greater perils of mud and unbroken forest, we were brought to our own destination, our mission home in the woods on the Seneca Reservation.

The house was built of hewn logs, two stories high. The second floor was reserved for the school. Beside the regular classes in English studies Mr. Young has a class of young men, chiefs, two evenings in the week to study music. Many had good voices and were fond of singing. And the ladies had classes of women and girls to learn how to knit and sew. Dennis Cusic [Cusick], son of the chief, was quite an artist; he could draw well, and made his own colors from native woods. I saw many proofs that Indians were appreciative of education and that our being there was acceptable to them.

I will relate an incident. One evening I was left with the singing class, the other members of the family had gone to a neighbor's on an errand. Presently they commenced talking to each other, and would occasionally cast a glance at me. So I asked Thomas (the interpreter) what they were saying.

"Oh," he replied, "they are just talking among themselves."

"But what are they saying?" I asked.

"What do you want to know for?" was the response.

"Well, I think they are talking about me, and I insist upon knowing what they are saying."

"Yes, they are talking about you."

"Well, Thomas, tell me what they say."

After a long talk among themselves, he told me that they were saying I was a young lady away from my friends, among Indians—savages, as they were called—and they wondered if I was not afraid of them.

* Capt. Elias Ransom.

†Nos. 554-562, now the site of the store of Messrs. Flint & Kent.

"Tell them no," I replied.

"They want to know why."

I said, "Ask them if they have read the story of Daniel in the lion's den."

"Yes, they know that; but what has that to do with this case?"

"Tell them I serve the same God that Daniel did, and he is just as able and willing to take care of me as he was at that time of Daniel; besides, they are Christians, and I have no fears."

It took some time to interpret all this conversation, and as a result they said they were much pleased and gratified at the confidence placed in them, and they thought I was a very brave lady, and I might always be sure of their protection. I always found them true to their word, and the utmost friendship existed between them and the missionaries. Often we would have a number take dinner with us. We had a good vegetable garden, and wished to show them how vegetables should be cooked. Once we prepared some squashes very nicely, which they relished so well, that they were continually calling for more. "Squash, squash!" was heard so much that we were obliged to cook more, and set it on, but in a plainer way, like the man in the parable, "When men have well drunk, that which is worse."

There was not any church at Seneca at that date. Religious services were held at the council house, and the mission house, by clergymen of different denominations. One Sunday the Methodists conducted the service, and sang some very lively tunes, which pleased the Indians very much, but rather annoyed Mr. Young.

The principal men in the tribe were White Chief (his wife, an Indian, we called Mother Seneca: their three sons were Seneca, Seneca White and White Seneca), Tall Peter, Two-Guns, and John Wheelbarrow. The Rev. Messrs. Rowan and Strong were sent as commissioners to make some new arrangements in the mission and to form a church, and it was at this time that the first Christian marriage among

the Indians was solemnized.* After the ceremony Mr. Strong said, "Thomas, with us we salute the bride, that is, we kiss her; it is not in the ceremony, only it is a custom and pleasure; you can do as you like about it. It is a pleasant custom with us." Thomas interpreted it all and after deliberating some time the answer came: "We have considered it, and as we do not see any profit in it, we omit it." So it was omitted.

I returned to New York and was married to the Rev. Daniel W. Remington of Buffalo, by Rev. Alexander McClelland, pastor of Rutgers-St. Church, July 24, 1821.

*The *Buffalo Patriot* of contemporary date describes it as follows:

"On the 4th of December, 1820, after the council was adjourned, the committee repaired to the house of the missionary, Mr. Young, for the purpose of uniting in marriage the interpreter, Mr. Thomas Armstrong, and Miss Rebecca Hempferman, also by the same person (Rev. Mr. Rowan), and at the same time and place, Jonathan Jacket, youngest son of the celebrated chief, Red Jacket, to Yeck-ah-Wak, a young woman from Cattaraugus. Rev. Paschal N. Strong, corresponding secretary of the New York Home Missionary Society, being present, concluded the ceremony by prayer. Thomas Armstrong and Rebecca Hempferman are both whites who were taken by the Senecas at the close of the Revolutionary War; from their cradles have been identified with the Indians by their language and habits. The other parties are native Senecas, and this is the first marriage in this tribe according to Christian institution."

XI.
JOURNALS OF
REV. THOMPSON S. HARRIS.

HIS MISSIONARY LABORS AMONG THE SENECA
AT BUFFALO CREEK AND CATTARAUGUS
RESERVATIONS, 1821-1828.*

Nov. 2, 1821. Arrived at Buffaloe, two days ago, but could not make it convenient to visit the station before the present time. Found the family among whom I am hereafter to spend most of my time all in good health—and anxiously waiting the arrival of their minister. Very kindly received and feel much pleased with the neatness and simplicity of our friendly apartments. It so happened that I met with a number of the chiefs assembled at the house of Mr. Young; was soon introduced and explained to them the reason why we had not arrived before.

5th [Nov.]. This day met with the natives for the first time for the purpose of worship. Meet usually in their council house. Congregation very attentive during service, to the subject treated of. Much more order than could have been expected from persons so ignorant and no more accustomed to discipline. but it is natural and perhaps constitutional. Was a little pained by the occasional laughs of one

*Now first published from the original manuscript in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. Some of the dates are inconsistent.

of the natives and the more so as it proceeded from one whose opportunities of improvement warrant a far different exhibition. This person's name is Jacob Jamieson. He has been at school in different places and has acquired no inconsiderable degree of information and can talk pretty good English. At present he is to be considered a rather dangerous person. As his acquaintance with men and books is more extensive than the rest of his nation, his influence is considerable. His ideas at present appear to be at variance with the plan of this establishment, inasmuch as he supposes that his nation can never be rightly instructed unless removed off their present residence. He recommends to them to embody themselves in some distant country out of the reach of molestation and then send their children back to those who are well qualified to instruct them. He is not opposed to the Gospel, professedly, but only to the plan pursued by the Board.

Monday 5 [Nov.]. This day met at four o'clock for the purpose of attending to the monthly concert of prayer. Thirteen persons assembled and attentively listened to what was said in respect to what was doing in the world for the good of immortal souls. It was truly refreshing [MS. torn, a few words gone] to meet with these ignorant, wretched people, and by prayer and supplication to that God who can pity the destitute and wretched. For certainly if ever there were an ignorant and pitiable people these are the same.

Wednesday 7th [Nov.]. This morning was ushered by a consideration of my unspeakable unworthiness, and by all the mercies of a bountiful God. Nothing but goodness and mercy have followed us since we have embarked in the cause of God. But oh my insensible ungrateful heart! Others are complaining of their backwardness and unbelief, but I appear to myself too insensible and blind to see my own sins notwithstanding my soul is barren in the presence of my God and Saviour.

Thursday 8th [Nov.]. This day met in council with the chiefs at Mr. Young's house. Chiefs pretty generally attended. When I entered the chamber where they were sitting all appeared grave and attentive, and continued so

throughout. Little Johnson was speaking; he appeared grave, manly and eloquent. After considerable conference among themselves they remarked that they were assembled in consequence of some information before derived from me; that the Good Society at New York had sent them a talk [to] which they supposed no answer was required, and that they were now ready to attend to what counsel might be given them by the Society.

I then asked them if it would be agreeable to them if I were to open the meeting with prayer to the Great Spirit. They remarked, that it coincided with their wishes. After prayer, the first talk was read, which consisted of a letter of introduction of their minister and his wife from the Society. This was succeeded by another addressed to the same as an answer to one sent to the Board enquiring for a teacher for their brethren at Tonewanta. After these had been read and explained Pollard arose and said that they owed great thanks to their minister for reading and explaining the good talk, but that a messenger was here present from Tonewanta and that if I would be at my liberty for a little while—until they had cleared the way, as they expressed it—and heard the news which had now reached them, they would then be prepared to return an answer.

After entering the chamber the second time, in a few minutes Pollard again arose and said: That we owed great thanks to the Great Spirit that we had been spared in health and safety to see each other's faces, and that they owed much to the Society for the good talk and a thousand thanks to their minister for so patiently and satisfactorily explaining it to them. Furthermore, that though the Society had not sent a minister as soon as they at first promised, yet that they rejoiced to learn, that as soon as he could be prepared, he had come to devote his life to their good. According to the request of the Good Society they promised faithfully to receive and love their minister and to protect him to the utmost of their power. They understood that it was his business to explain to them the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ contained in the Good Book; they further promised to listen with all possible attention to the explanations which

should from time to time be made from the Word of God, for their best good and the salvation of their souls. Furthermore, he observed that they rejoiced to learn that they and the Board were even-minded, as they expressed it, in the business which so deeply interested their brethren at Tonewanta. They had sent to the Board requesting their counsel on the propriety or impropriety of advising them to join themselves in any agreement, with people of a different denomination; and they have coincided with them in opinion that it would not be best to receive teachers from any other denomination, but all to observe the same way. This is very satisfactory to their minds. But, they have to state, that there is some difficulty in the way, which however they hope the Great Spirit in kindness and mercy will remove. The Christian party among their brethren at Tonewanta, being exceedingly desirous of having their children instructed in the knowledge of letters, and not receiving an answer from the Board as soon as they expected, they had thought proper to accept of some proposals from the Baptist denomination, for this purpose. From the messenger however which was then present with them, they had understood that the Pagan party was very stout-hearted and had determined that no teacher should settle in their village. On consideration they were glad that an opportunity was presented of setting aside the former agreement, and they would now wait the arrival of the teacher promised in the talk which had just been read to them. In the meantime they requested of the minister to send a letter to them, which should tend to corroborate the truth which should be delivered by the messenger. They further requested that in that letter all the blame of breaking the contract with the Baptists should be on the shoulders of the chiefs on the Buffalo reservation.

Finally they wished to make a request of their minister in order to clear their minds of a difficulty which still rested upon them. It was this: Their nation at present was divided into two strong parties. The Pagans were considerably enraged because their nation was about leaving the rights [rites] and customs of the forefathers for the Christian ways. Now, as they supposed that the Society had em-

powered me to satisfy their minds on things of this nature, they wished to know how the rising generation should be protected in their religious rights and privileges against the assaults of those who might invade them. I replied, that the Board had not empowered me to tell them; that they should not meet with any difficulty in embracing the gospel of the Son of God; but that I might in justice say, that they would afford them all the assistance in their power by advice and direction in the reception of the truth. All they [i. e. the Board] could do was to send them a minister, to endeavor to direct their feet in the way that leads to life everlasting; to point them to the Lamb of God, that takes away the sins of the world, who is now exalted a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto Israel and remission of sins, to whom all power is given both in heaven and in earth, and who could therefore protect them and their children against all the attacks of the most stubborn enemy. Hence they saw the necessity of looking to this Saviour immediately for help and consolation, for he has declared that "he that believeth shall be saved." Good David has also said: "I once was young, I now am old, yet never saw I the righteous forsaken and their seed begging bread."

They here expressed ten thousand thanks to me for the manner in which I had explained to them where they should put their trust for protection and salvation. They knew that the Saviour was almighty; they could read it in the Good Book, and by the help of the Lord they would strive so to do. On the subject of rendering assistance to the brethren at Tonawanta, they remarked, that if the Society could send them a letter promising a teacher, signed by the President of [the] United States and the Secretary of War, as a token of their approbation, they supposed it would be abundantly sufficient to satisfy the minds of the Pagan party and cause them to be silent; this would convince their minds that they were not imposed upon by the meddlesome whites. To this I replied that I held in my hand a letter from the Department at [of] War, stating that Government did approve of these societies sending teachers among the Indians, and more than this, that they had appropriated out of their own pock-

ets \$10,000 annually for this purpose; and that this money should be applied through the exertions of benevolent and Christian societies, and that if their brethren requested it, a copy of this letter might be sent to them, in order that their minds might be satisfied on the subject; that this was not a cunningly-devised scheme in order to deceive them, but that it was the very plan that Government had resolved to carry into execution. This, they said, was the very thing which [they] had wanted all along, and they were compelled to rejoice at the good news. They thereupon requested of their minister if he would be so good as to send a copy of this letter with the messenger who was soon to return home; which was speedily complied with.

Sabbath, Nov. 12. After service this day I invited Seneca White and his brother John Seneca to come home with me for the purpose of a religious conversation. These appear certainly so far as I can judge to be the most serious of the nation. I commenced my conversation by telling them that I had requested them to come for the purpose of having a conversation with them on serious subjects, and hoped they would without hesitation open their minds so far as it would tend to relieve them of any difficulty that might be resting upon them. Seneca White replied that he would speak for himself, and his brother should speak for himself. I then asked him if he sometimes desired to love the Saviour, who died for poor sinners; whether he believed that God would one day call him to an account for the deeds of body whether they be good or whether they be evil? Whether or not he was depending upon his prayers or his uprightness or his goodness in any way for the purpose of obtaining acceptance with God; and if he believed that his sins could be forgiven except through the merits of the Son of God? To which he replied in the following manner, as nearly as could be gathered:

That in his younger days, in looking around him and seeing so many of his neighbors (whites) as well as those of his own nation, addicted to improper and sinful practices—some getting drunk, others disobeying their parents, others addicted to gamboling [? gambling] and frolicking, etc.—

he had made up his mind to abstain from all these things; to act justly and uprightly with all so far as it was in his power. He had seen the great misery which such conduct had brought upon those who engaged [in] it, as well as on their friends; that in looking back upon the path which he himself had trod he had some sorrow because he found nothing which could merit anything at the hands of God; for he well knew that sin was mixed with all his actions—that he was a sinner before God, and that through Christ alone, he had understood from the Good Book, he could be pardoned. And it was his constant wish that his sins might be pardoned and he accepted through Christ. And it should be his aim continually to listen to such explanations as should from time to time be made from the Good Book. And it was further his strong hope that our lives might be spared to be a great blessing to his nation and that God would bless our exertions and counsels to them.

John Seneca answered also that he was of the same mind with his brother in all that he had said, that he felt himself a sinner before God, and was resolved, as far as the Great Spirit should give him strength, to seek the way of salvation laid down in the Word of God. He believed the Saviour had died for our sins and that he is able to save those that put their trust in him; that in this whole thing he and his brother were of one mind. After some plain and solemn admonition we knelt down and commended them to God and the word of his grace which is able to save their souls.

Nov. 15. Met with the chiefs in council at our house, requesting me to overlook the letter which had been written to the Tonewandas, as it had appeared to them not to be altogether straight with the direction of the messenger, which they had sent to carry the letter. It seems that the messenger had understood that they must send the letter to Mr. Bates, which was a copy of the circular from Government, and had not let him see the other; and he thereon was very much encouraged. Whereas, the Tonewandas had determined to dismiss their teacher, whom they had promised to receive among them, and they met this morning in order to have it further explained. When they came to understand

that both letters were for them, and that the circular was only to let them know what Government would do, they were entirely satisfied, and said that now they understood all things, and would take the letter along to council at Jackstown and would there explain the thing to their brethren who were of the Pagan party; that they fully understood that Government approved of the plan and would assist them in undertaking it.

Nov. 17. Chiefs met at mission house for the purpose of having me interpret a letter from Oneida, stating what they had done in regard to the deputation, etc., and they also requested the favor of writing to the Onondagas for the Onondagas on this reservation. They move very slowly in council, and some appear very dirty.

Dec. 3, Monday. Chiefs met for council at the mission house. Although they were apprised of its being the monthly concert of prayer, yet they supposed that because it was not specifically mentioned on the Sabbath preceding, they pretended that perhaps I deemed it a matter of indifference. In this however they were mistaken, for on entering the house they soon found by the interpreter that the family had improved the day for humiliation, fasting and prayer. They were respectfully informed that owing to our appointment previously to observe the day by religious exercises, it would seem to interrupt our worship, by attending to any secular concerns (the question was put to them); and that if they would set any time during the week I would cheerfully meet with them for the purpose. They beg to be excused, as they had not known of the fact till they entered the house, and that I might act my own pleasure in deferring it or not. They were satisfied with the reason and appeared a little chagrined that they had called on this particular day. I hope it will be a practical lesson, that they may be induced to attend more punctually and constantly on so important and interesting an institution. The business is respecting the affairs of Tonewanta. I am rather suspicious that the way is not yet quite opened for the location of a teacher in that section of the Senecas; the opposition is yet probably too strong to the happy and successful settlement of Chris-

tian teachers. It is our duty however to pursue every possible opportunity to cover the ground.

Wednesday, 5th [Dec.]. Had an interview with Capt. Parrish, Government's agent for the Six Nations. He appears to be friendly to our establishment, and anxious for the improvement of the people. He says that his aim and mine in regard to this people are one—they both tend to one result, i. e., the happiness and prosperity of this people; only his line of duties lies in one way and mine in another, but that both should go on together.

He related a conversation which took place between him and Red Jacket, this morning. Jacket came to him and wished to know his opinion, whether he did not think that the Black-coats were not coming in among them, in order to take away their lands. He told him, it was no such thing; their lands were secured to them by Government, and that they could not be deprived of them so long as that Government exists; that there is no incumbrance whatever except the right of preëmption, which only relates to the right of a company's purchasing them, provided they wish to part with them. He [Capt. Parrish] promptly told him, that he was an opposer of missionaries, who had been sent by people who wished their best good; that not only so, but that he was opposing Government; who was very desirous of having them instructed and their children. And now [said Parrish] can you dare to oppose missionaries and societies and Government; can you, a single man, presume to fly in the face of all these, and violently resist them?

Ah, well [said Red Jacket], but what has been the result of those numerous tribes who had received missionaries among them? What has become of them? They are extinct; they are forever gone, so that the name even is no more remembered.

Well, and have dissipation and war had no effect in bringing about this catastrophe?

Oh yes; but liquor and vice and swearing all have come in this way.

And after giving him a good scolding and telling him that all was in vain, and that his people would become Chris-

tian in spite of all his efforts, they parted about as good friends as we meet.

Dec. 10. This day officiated in the burial of a child of one of the chiefs by name of John Snow, he is one of the most respectable men of the nation. I was surprised to see their regularity and willingness to have it conducted according to the Christian method. The procession started from Snow's house and halted at the mission house where an address was made to the mourners and a few words spoken to the people on the necessity of being prepared for death.

Was this evening gratified with an interview with Little Beard, principal chief at Tonewanta. He appears to be an honest, candid man. He said he was very glad to see me and wished to let me know that his people wish to have a school-master from the Board, but that they thought it was so long to wait. His people, he said, wanted a good Christian man; not lazy, but swift; one that knew a good deal, and who would not set an example to his boys by which they would be induced to drink rum. This, he said, "no good."

Dec. 11. Was gratified this morning with an interview with Young King. He said:

"Ten years ago, Indians no work—no fence—no cattle—no corn—all dark. Now good many cattle—and boys, some work. By and by, maybe, ten years, boys work—make good roads and good fence—and have everything good." He seemed much pleased at the prospect of improvement.

Dec. 12. A number of the people met this evening with a view to engage in singing; they came immediately from the general council, which is composed of chiefs from all the reservations. After singing, several chiefs tarried and talked on various subjects. Thomas appears quite forward and considerably displeased with the Board in not fulfilling their word, as he says, with him. He told me, in an impertinent manner, that he should expect me to write a letter to the Board expressly on the subject. I remarked I might do it if I got time and leisure. His conduct has manifested displeasure at something for some time past.

Dec. 14. Two of the chiefs met today with interpreter expecting a council, but no more came. I requested the in-

terpreter to ask Seneca White if many of the nation were now hunting for their winter's subsistence. He replied that there were a very great many. I then asked him what he thought was the disadvantage resulting from this practice, or whether he could approve of it at all. He said he did not like the practice, and the disadvantage was very great. In the first place, they wear out a great many clothes, and it happens often that they seek for game a great while before they find any. Another thing is, that they frequently have cattle at home, which will perish, unless they are present to attend to them.

Dec. 15. Today Thomas came to the mission house without any hat and evidently in a passion. He began immediately to talk in a scolding manner, on some pretended grievances which had taken place between Bro. Young and Jonathan Jacket. It seems that Jacket had come to the workshop to do something for himself. When dinnertime arrived he came down without invitation and took his seat at the table. This he did twice or thrice. He was at length reminded by Bro. Young of his mistake in supposing that we were to board him. Thomas declared, to the young women, that Jacket had been abused, and that he had now come from home without his breakfast and if he had to go home to get it, he should not come back to interpret for the council, which was to meet at 12 o'clock. After he found that his threats very little affected us he went home quite as angry as when he came.

Dec. 27. Was told today by the interpreter that the chiefs of the Christian and Pagan parties had convened for business of some considerable importance, in which there was a letter to be read and if I could attend to interpret it for them it would much oblige them. On entering the house I was somewhat surprised to find Mr. Hyde had been waiting for my arrival for an hour and better, in company with four chiefs from Cattaraugus. The subject of discourse appeared to be a particular consideration of certain facts alleged by Mr. H., both in council and conversation at Cattaraugus to have occurred in relation to the bargain of Mr. Williams to the westward. The subject more particularly turned on

opinions asserted by Mr. H. on this subject, and that of the preëmption company. It seems that H. had expressed himself in council very decidedly on the subject, but more particularly and strongly expressed himself in conversation with one of the nation who can speak English. This last-mentioned person with three others had called on Mr. H. to know whether he had asserted such and such things, to the most of which he assented. They then proceeded to Seneca, in order to confer with their brethren here on the subject of Mr. H.'s conversation.

The chiefs, it seems, had sent for me in order that the whole of this talk might be gone over in my presence. Mr. H. was then requested to relate word for word as far as he could, what he then stated. The whole seemed to consist in assertions, quite positive enough, it appears to me, of Mr. H. on the forementioned subjects. Among the rest a copy of a letter of his had been sent to Cattaraugus written some time before to a person favorable to the preëmption company, in which he gives his high disapprobation of the conduct of W. D. Ogden of New York. This letter he read in the presence of the chiefs, appealing to me for the truth of what was read. After understanding as well as I could the matter in debate, and especially after seeing the chiefs apparently vexed at all this trouble, and considering the meeting nothing less than a meeting on land business, and nothing in which as a minister of the Gospel, I had any concern, I then asked the chiefs whether I had been invited to their council in order to render them any assistance or simply as a hearer. They replied, that as they had understood, a letter would be read of more than usual importance, they wished me to be present, in order to hear what might be said; especially as they believed something would be said in which the conduct of the ministers (the Board's) would be implicated. This implication consisted in a belief on the part of the natives at Cattaraugus that the ministers were at the head of this western expedition of Williams, for the purpose of driving them from their lands. I then replied that I had come according to their request, and had attentively listened to what had passed, and found that as far as I could see, there was nothing in which

I could render them any assistance, which I would cheerfully do, were it in my power; that it did not belong to my duty as a minister of the Gospel commissioned to preach Christ crucified to them, either to counsel or direct them on their national concerns; that as it related to the conduct of the Board, they themselves might judge whether they had fulfilled their promise to them, and had acted according to their contract with them or not. They had asked of them a minister of the Gospel: a promise was made; that promise has been fulfilled. Did not this look like consulting their best interests? Is it likely that they would now turn about to be their enemy? "You yourselves are certainly apprised that it is not the object of the Board to bargain for lands, neither do they employ persons for that purpose. As therefore it does not enter into the line of my duties to attend on subjects of this kind, in which it is not in my power to give them any information, I begged to be excused, as I am wanted at home." To this they very readily assented. Before I left the house Capt. Strong arose and stated that [there] were two or three things which had been omitted in Mr. H.'s statement. One in particular was that he had declared that there were some persons who were false ministers; that there were many who could put on a black coat whenever they pleased, and that they were not always to be trusted. [A blank leaf here follows; perhaps indicating that Mr. Harris had intended to write further of this affair, but never did, the next entry being at the top of a fresh sheet and elaborately headed: "Journal of the Mission at Seneca, Jan., 1822."—ED.]

Jan'y 1, 1822. Another year has commenced with us at Seneca. Oh may the great and eternal God bless his cause in the midst of us, and cause it to prosper. He we trust has opened the way for the display of his grace. May it be his divine pleasure to pour out upon us of his holy spirit that we may grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We were visited today by probably a hundred and seventy or eighty of the natives, men, women and children. They appeared much pleased with the attention afforded them, and

it may be the means of conciliating the favor and good will of numbers who are now nominally and perhaps really opposers. Jack's-town is the largest of these three villages, and the stronghold of paganism on this reservation. Today there were a considerable number from thence to see us for the purpose of receiving their New Year's present. It is remarked by the family that the Pagans have lately a greater disposition to be friendly to our establishment than formerly. And prospects of that sort appear to be encouraging.

Was permitted to have an interview with SNOW, one of the chiefs who has lately been much affected with the loss of a child. I was told by one of the sisters that on Sabbath she perceived him much affected, and today I improved the opportunity of a free conversation. He appears serious, but I am afraid a self-righteous spirit is the predominant temper of his mind. His tears which have been seen to flow so freely, and which I had humbly hoped were the fruits of that godly sorrow which worketh repentance unto life, is nothing more than a natural sympathy for a stroke of Providence. And I am very apprehensive that the result of having the Gospel preached for ten years or more among this people is as yet little else than the production of a pharasaical show.

Jany 10. The chiefs met in council this day at our house, professedly for the purpose of having a letter written for their agent Capt. Parrish, but principally perhaps for the purpose of giving us a scolding. On Christmas, when they were all assembled at the mission house, it was proposed to them, among other things, that as it—the mission house—was more central to the three villages, and as it would much accommodate them in bringing the children to and from Sunday School, and as it would better suit our women, some of whom were feeble and in ill-health and not able to walk so far, it could perhaps with a little expense be as suitable a place for public worship as any other; and as it would be likely to accommodate both the people and the mission family, the question was put to them, whether they would agree to meet here or at the council house. The question was also asked, whether they would consent to assist in moving

the schoolhouse which stood at Mr. Hyde's former residence, for the purpose of a weave-shop for the squaws. They answered, they would consider it. This evening they were prepared to give an answer. They replied in quite an impudent manner, which was far from showing gratitude for an accommodating offer. They said that they were unwilling to change the place of worship because they had a house which was good enough for them and they supposed ought to be good enough for any one else; that if they met here there would be so many temptations for the bad class of their people to pilfer, but at the council house there was nothing but the bare walls and seats for them to pilfer. And as to our women, if they really wished to act a faithful part and show a good example to the people they could afford to walk a mile once a week at all times for the sake of doing good. And further, as to the removal of the house, they thought it a very needless trouble and expense, which might be very easily done without. For these reasons they thought that they could not possibly accede to our proposal. Their covetous disposition is indeed trying. They seem to have an impression that it is almost a favor that we are permitted to serve them in the labors of the Gospel. It is often with the greatest difficulty that they are prevailed upon to haul a little wood for the purpose of keeping their children comfortable at school; and if told of the propriety of the thing, they are by no means at a loss for language that savors of considerable impudence. May the God of all grace grant them an understanding heart, to discern the spirit of Christ, and it shall ever be our prayer that God would grant us faith and patience to endure all things for Christ's sake.

Wednesday, Jan. 16. A much larger number of the natives met this evening for the purpose of singing than usual. We have informed them of our willingness to instruct the people, both men and women, in singing on this evening of the week. By the pains which the chiefs appear to have taken to collect the people (some of whom met with us), it is probable that they seem disposed to conciliate our esteem and thus to make amends for their impudence on the 10th.

Sabbath, 28th [Jan.]. Was invited today after service to

attend on Tuesday at a convention of all the children, for the purpose of naming them. It seems that about two years ago, from some source or other, the Indians were encouraged or directed to adopt a method of publicly naming their children. I understand from the interpreter that it is conducted by the chiefs. One takes a child and lays his hand on the child's head and formally pronounces the name. The meeting is conducted at the council house with prayer or singing and cakes distributed to the children. The object of inviting me, it was said, was that I might give such directions in regard to it, as might increase the solemnity of the occasion, and that I might engage with them in prayer for the children, that they might be kept by divine grace from "every evil and false way," and be trained up in the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. My reply was, that if I could attend conveniently, I would. On reflecting, I think it improper for me to attend, inasmuch as my presence may sanction a measure which has no foundation in C. J.* and which is probably viewed by them as a kind of ecclesiastical act. Oh may it please the great Head of the Church preserve them from deserting that rule of faith and practice laid down in his word, and convince them by his Holy Spirit, that at this time when "they" think they ought to be teachers, they themselves have need that one teach them what be the first principles of the doctrines of Christ.

Feb. 9. Was visited today by three of the leading chiefs, who had been appointed to confer with me on the subject of the Tonawanta teacher. The conversation was very satisfactory to myself, and I do not now remember of having ever enjoyed an interview with this people, upon which I have been able to reflect with so much gratitude to God as our covenant on the present. They commenced the conversation by calling my attention to what I had said to them, in the council held by Elder Stone. They said that I had heard what had been advanced by him in favor of the Baptist teacher, but could not tarry till the decision had been made. They further remarked, that they still remembered their

* MS. not plain, but apparently an abbreviation for "Christ Jesus."

covenant with the good Society; that they had by no means forgotten it and were resolved to adhere to it as long as they lived. As to the decision which had been made they said, it appeared to be unavoidable, it was a thing which, could they have had their own wish, without infringing the liberties of others, should not have taken place. But as their brethren at Tonewanta were not present when the covenant was made, and had conceived a great liking for the Baptist teacher, and were greatly disappointed in having their wishes crossed, the only resort was to leave it to themselves to judge upon it as they should see best. They also said, that although their brothers at Tonewanta had decided in favor of the Baptist, still it was but a teacher, and they hoped that even yet the Great Spirit would so over-rule the whole affair as to cause it to terminate for good. They further observed, that since the Good Society had been at much trouble and probably at considerable expense for their good and they were anxious that it all should not be in vain, but wished the Society, if they had found a proper teacher, not to dismiss him, but to send him and his family to their destitute brethren at Cattaraugus. They were more numerous, they said, than those at Tonewanta, and the Christian party among them were determined to have their children educated by some means or other. They said that moreover the Christians at Cattaraugus had made some exertions in the matter of erecting a school-house by hewing and drawing timber for the purpose; that the site which they had pitched upon first, was deemed by the Pagans such an encroachment on their lands as to cause them to haul away their logs, on [to] ground which was indisputable; and they had no doubt that they would be pleased with the measure of having a teacher from the Board. To be certain however of what might be done, they said, that they would send messengers immediately to their brethren to confer on the subject, and would let me know the result as soon as possible. After asking them several questions relative to the subject I said that rejoiced in brotherly love, and concluded my remarks by reminding them of their obligations to live up to the contract which they had made with the Society; that as to the Board, I believed they had

always found them their tried friends, but if they should listen to other counsellors, and go off to other denominations, they could not expect anything less than that the assistance which might probably be afforded them, would be rendered to other people who would cordially receive their counsel and abide by their decisions.

After some consultation among themselves, they wished me to explain to them what it was, that was essentially necessary for a person's becoming united to the family of Christ, or belonging to the church. As for themselves, they had long believed that some of their young men were really true Christians, this they gathered from a careful observation of their conduct, and from the exhortations which they frequently give to their own people to live up to the gospel of the Son of God, and they now wished to know, what prevented these persons from becoming members of Christ's flock? They put another question also: What was to be done by a head of a family, in case he wished his children brought up in the Christian way, whether it would not be proper to have his children baptised? And they also desired me to explain to them the nature of marriage.

When the first question was put to me I trembled for the result, because as I knew there had been such an itching by numbers to have this event brought about. I thought it a thing very possible, that in case I refused to accede to their proposal they would be highly affronted. I told them that if they would answer me one question I would then undertake to comply with their request. It was this: Whether they would listen to the word of God when it directs those who are mere learners of the gospel. They replied that they wished to obey its directions. I then told them that the word of God says expressly to persons in their situation, "Submit yourselves to those who have the rule over you, in the Lord, in all things." It was their duty, therefore, to submit this whole matter to the minister for him to determine who were the fit subjects of the ordinances of God's house, and who not; that it does not become any of us to say positively of any person, that he or she is a true

Christian; it is God that searches the heart; but there is a very wide difference between a fair life in the sight of men and a fair heart in the sight of God; that it was the minister's duty to endeavor to compare the exercises of every person who professes to love Christ and his gospel, with the rules laid down in his word; but that in order to do this it is absolutely necessary that he should have frequent conversation with all such persons—it is very necessary that the minister should become well acquainted with them; but as for myself they knew that I was as yet almost a stranger among them. Some of their people I did not know, and those with whom I was acquainted had never shown me where they lived. I could not therefore go to their houses to converse with them on these subjects, but that in time it was my intention to talk with [them] much on these subjects, but that it was impossible for me to do it immediately. I said further that it was not best on any consideration whatever to run rashly with the execution of this business; it was a solemn thing and it was their duty so to consider it; we are all poor miserable sinners the best of us, and it does not become us to think too highly of the safe state of ourselves or of others. We can therefore never be too well grounded in the faith and love of the gospel; but that upon the other hand it would bring a great disgrace upon the precious gospel of Christ if any of their people should be brought into the church and should afterward turn their back upon Christ and his commandments. Besides, their pagans were watching every step they took, and if they should see any of their number acting in this manner, how much they would rejoice in his downfall, and how great would be the encouragement for them to continue in their dark and wicked ways. It was my counsel therefore to them, as one appointed to watch over their souls, not to be hasty in this matter, but to examine their own hearts and wait the time when there should be satisfactory evidence that those who now wished the privileges of the church were not only Christians in name but Christians in heart.

With this they seemed perfectly satisfied and thanked

their minister for explaining these things to them in a manner so very satisfactory, and they replied moreover that they had never in their whole lives, gotten such a clear view of the gospel, at any one time. They should therefore receive my counsel. The other two questions were answered in a manner which secured their approbation.

Saturday, Feb. 15. One of the chiefs called upon me and said that he was on his way to Cattaraugus, and should be back on Monday and would call. I asked how many were going: he said he expected to take eight with his sleigh and horses, that he did not know whether more would go or not. Ten or twelve went however. He said it was their determination to hold a meeting for religious worship on Sabbath and to encourage their brothers in receiving the gospel of Christ.

Monday, Feb. 17. The chiefs returned from Cattaraugus and called in order to inform us what was the result of their visit. As it was very near night, and they fatigued with their journey they had only time to tell me the substance of what had been done. They had an interview with their brothers, and had stated the reason why they had paid them a visit at this time. I wished to know what their opinion was on the subject that they might be able to render an answer to their minister as soon as possible. After some consultation the principal chief remarked that it was not possible that anything positive could be done in so short a time, but that he would call a full council of all the young men and ascertain their sentiments on the subject, and whatever their judgment should be, he should cheerfully acquiesce in it. He said further that he would send messengers in a few days to Buffalo, to inform their brothers what was the result of the council. I requested that the council might be held at the mission house.

Sat., Feb. 23. Was informed today that two messengers had come from Cattaraugus and from Tonawanda, and according to my request the chiefs would meet in council at the mission house at 12 o'clock. They came accordingly and opened council about 2. The messengers from Cattaraugus were then called upon to deliver their communication.

which was nearly as follows: They had held a council among themselves at their council-fire at Cattaraugus on the subject which was proposed to them by their brothers from this place, but their minds were divided considerably and they were not prepared as yet to take any measure positively in regard to it. They had been requested however to invite the chiefs from this place, with their minister, to attend a council with them at council-fire within four days, at which time delegates from their brothers at Allegany would be present with us. They also made particular request of the minister that he would bring with him the covenant entered into between their brothers the chiefs on the Buffalo Reservation and the good Society of New York, and also the circular letter from Government, as they wished all these things explained to them and to their brothers—the council to be held in four days from this time. A considerable conversation then took place, and the business of the Tonawanda messenger was attended to. After some little time the interpreter whispered in my ear and told me that he had collected certain things in the course of the conversation which he thought it his duty to relate to me. He said that everything appeared to be going on among the people at Cattaraugus as he supposed it should; that the chiefs and people in favor of the gospel had made up their minds, except one, to accept the offer from the Board, because they believed that they could never subject their spiritual concerns to any class of men that would do them better justice than the good Society with whom their brothers had covenanted. The chief warrior however, being [MS. illegible.] man and not willing to enter into any new agreement hastily, has not yet given his assent, but is not opposed. The ground of his neutrality in the business appears to be, that he feels under some obligations of gratitude to the Quakers who reside near them, for services rendered to their people: but as soon as he could adopt some means for compensation to these Friends, he should adopt this other measure very soon. Here the matter rests.

I then addressed myself to the chief from Cattaraugus, and hoped that he would encourage his people in the good

ways of the Gospel, and for myself, I had little doubt, if they would look up to the Great God for help and direction with an humble and sincere mind, he would appear for their help. They were then commended to the grace of God in prayer and dismissed. We hope the hand of God is in this whole transaction, and we confidently trust that he will bring it in his good time to a happy termination.

Tuesday, March 5. Have just returned from attending the joint council at Cattaraugus. I started on Wednesday of last week, expecting to return on Friday, but events of so very pleasing and portentous a nature have occurred in regard to the future and eternal welfare of that people as to render it impracticable without violating my own feelings and theirs, to have returned sooner. In consequence of turning aside to tarry all night with a friend I did not arrive till next day, first day for council. The Christian party met for council at the house of the chief warrior. After the customary salutations and a free [? talk] on the motives which actuate the ministers of Christ in spreading his gospel, I was made acquainted with the plan which they had adopted to carry their point in general council with the Pagans. They said, among other things, that in their struggles with the opposite party they had very much of injury and insult to bear; and though their minds were strongly fixed even as the mind of one man, in their adherence to the Gospel and its concomitant privileges, still, they found themselves surrounded with such an overwhelming majority as to induce them almost to think that their cause was desperate. It was a conviction of their weakness, they said, that they had made particular request of their brothers at Buffalo, to come to their help, and with them their minister; and now they were bound to give thanks to our God and Saviour, that they had been permitted to see the face of their brothers, as well as of their minister in peace, and that no accident had befallen us on our journey. They said, further, that since the minister was so good as to hear their cry and come to their assistance, they should by and by, when they met in council with the opposition party, request of their minister to read, first, a statement from the Attorney General contradicting a report

which had been issued by Red Jacket and his party, that the Attorney General should have practically said that all Indians who should embrace the gospel of the white men, should in a short time be compelled to pay taxes and subject themselves to all the laws of the land. The effect of this intelligence on a number of persons was to [make them] desert the cause they had espoused, for pagan superstition. This certificate they thought of so much importance as to have it stand first on their docket; to regain their apostates, and convince the people that they were imposed on by a set of unprincipled men. In the second place they requested of their minister that he would be so good as to read from the Good Book, in the presence of their opponents, such a part of the Gospel as would seem most calculated to let them understand its true nature. This they thought (to use their own words) would be likely to prick them in their hearts so much as to make them more cautious how they trifled with those solemn things; and to convince them, if they had any conscience, of their unbrotherly and even unmanly conduct in so bitterly opposing them in a course which they esteemed of such immense importance to themselves and their children.

Next to this they wished me to read the Government circular, showing that the voice of their Great Father the President was with the ministers in civilizing and evangelizing his red children. And finally, they would expect me to read the covenant which had been made with the Good Society at New York.

Their wishes were realized in all this, except reading the covenant, for which there was no time, as the Pagans met so late in the afternoon, and Saturday, in waiting they said for their brothers from Buffalo. Three to four o'clock in the afternoon they sent us word they were ready.

On entering the council house we found Red Jacket and his party all present, who had come to have his voice in the Council. The day was occupied by several speeches, and I was permitted to be a silent and uninstructed hearer. After council one of the chiefs* came to me, leading a young man,

* Apparently, from interlineations in the MS., this was Capt. Crow.

and said: "You are now brother, in the midst of your Indian brothers, so far from white settlements that it is in vain for you to think of lodging with them. You will go with this man, he will take good care of your horse, furnish you a good bed to rest on, and he is able to give you a good supper." I thanked him and said I would cheerfully accept the offer. All he said I found realized far beyond my expectations. In the evening a number of the young men came in to join in learning to sing; they have already, without a teacher, made some proficiency; and never did I see persons more fond of this recreation or more eager to improve.

On Sabbath the people met together with chiefs from the three reservations for worship at the place of my lodging as being the most capacious house on the reservation, about 30 persons. The meeting commenced by a few remarks made by Johnson. (One of the number, who was appointed by themselves some time since, to address the people on the Sabbath.) I was then invited to conduct the exercises of the day and requested to explain to them the nature of the Gospel, in such a manner as I judged most suitable to their situation. They felt themselves in darkness, and how to get out they did not know. After singing and prayer I addressed them mainly on the two following points: 1. Some of the plainer evidences of the truth of our holy religion; 2. On the motives which actuate true Christians in sending this Gospel to the heathen. During a discourse of an hour and a half in length, almost every eye in the house was fastened upon me. I had almost said, never did I see a Christian congregation listen with more profound attention, than in attempting to lead their minds and hearts to Jesus the Lamb of God.

Some time after service one of the chiefs arose and before the people left the house addressed them saying, that all the chiefs from the three reservations which had this day more fully than they had ever been able to understand before, had come to this resolution, that forever after they were determined strongly to hold fast to this Gospel and abide by its directions, even should it please the Great Spirit to order that death should be the consequence.

Feb. 1*. Buried a child of William Jacket, son of Red Jacket. About ten years of age, he died of the consumption.

Wed. March 21. We were called upon today to commit to its native dust the body of one of our neighbors, George, son-in-law of the White Chief. He was an honest and industrious man but of a remarkably reserved turn of mind. In the commencement of his illness I went to administer some medicine, thinking to call again soon, but when I visited him again with a view to a serious conversation on the state of his soul I found him in the agonies of death. Oh how important to improve every moment in attempting the salvation of souls. His friends said he talked much about Jesus, but as there was no interpreter at home, this is about the substance of what I could learn of the state of his mind.

April 1, 1822. Today being the monthly concert of prayer, the chiefs [met] with a number of the people for the purpose of singing and prayer. These seasons are often improved for the purpose of communicating what religious information we may possess. And it is often surprising to mark the attention which is given to the history of other missions among our red brothers. After the exercises of the day I improved the opportunity of inquiring of one person present with whom I had lately a very serious conversation, whether he knew of any person exercised in a manner similar to himself. He told me he did know a few more who were thoughtful and who he thought were really seeking "the one true and living way." He could only speak his own mind respecting them, but after I had conversed with them I could best judge for myself. He was then requested to invite these his brethren to attend a religious conference before singing on Wednesday evening, with a view that the minister might find out how their minds stood affected towards the Gospel; and also that he might be able to assist them according "to the ability which the Lord had given him for edification."

Wed. April 3. According to previous appointment on Monday, five persons met at our dwelling, all chiefs of other nations, with a view of engaging for the first time with

* Date so written in the journal.

their minister in a religious conference. It is peculiarly calculated to excite our feelings to hear these [*illegible*] independent sons of the forest describe their feelings; some of them appear to be truly evangelical, as far as it is possible to understand them through the tedious and often very incorrect mode of communication by an interpreter; one would be disposed to think that the most of those which were present were sober and serious inquirers after the truth as it is in Jesus.

April 4. According to previous appointment Bro. Young opened school with 15 or 16 scholars. Although the chiefs and people generally appear quite anxious to send their children and we believe there are some who will faithfully and regularly do it, yet it is more than probable that much will not be effected in this way for some time to come; they are so prone to be lax in exercising proper discipline over their children, that it is not safe to calculate too sanguinely respecting the school. They have been told to send their children for a few days, and when we are fully prepared we will send for the chiefs with a view to a free conversation on the subject.

Wed. April 10. We have this day again been called to bury another of the natives—a child of Young King. It is a sickly season with this people. The most alarming disease which appears to prevail among them is the consumption, which is unhappily often hereditary.

April 20. Buried today another child of Wm. Jacket's, and he himself appears to have arrived at the last stages of consumption.

April 22. I was interrupted on Saturday in my preparations for Sabbath by the interpreter who officiously put himself in my way. When civilly requested to withdraw into an adjoining room was affronted, so much so as to inform me this morning "that he did not thank me for turning him out doors."

May 22. This day had been previously appointed by the chiefs for selecting the children for the family. They had been informed that everything was now ready. Council was opened late in the afternoon, but none of the children

came. This was not their fault, for they had informed them, the chiefs remarked, that they had followed the voice of the Good Society from time to time, and they intended to do so; as far as they could see their directions were beneficial to them and their children. But in regard to instruction of their children they had finally concluded it was not best for their children to be instructed in agriculture. They thought that instruction in reading and writing was sufficient for the purposes of the Gospel and for their own comfort; that their parents could teach them agriculture if they wished. With respect to embodying the children they observed that on the whole it would be prudent to defer it until after the next June council. Perhaps God would so order it, as that the minds of the opposite party might be brought to think and feel with them, and if so, their children ought to have as good a right to all the privileges as their own.

They perceived, they said, that in many respects the predictions of the pagans were fulfilling; that "if you give white people a footing among you, you will find that they will soon be building a town. (*Dubium.*) We had already built a house of large size, we had gotten a lot of ground before; and now, lately, they had given us the privilege, according to our request, of fencing another lot of considerable extent for an orchard; so that in the approaching council, the pagans would no doubt take an advantage of these things to build up their own cause. And they would also say that the children of the Christian party would be reaping all the benefit to themselves, whereas all this property which we had the benefit of, belonged equally to both. In order then to have as little difficulty with the pagans as possible, they thought it best again to offer the privileges of the school to the pagans, if they wish to have their children educated and will send them to live with us, they had a right to do so, as well as themselves. And they said that perhaps the Great Spirit would so order it as to bring the minds of both parties more together in the council approaching.

They afterwards found fault with the schoolmaster for the manner in which he corrected the children. They were very willing that the children should be corrected when they

deserved it, but not in the way in which they had been accustomed to be corrected. They said they would send their children every day to school from home in the meantime; and they hoped that the schoolmaster would be more and more faithful to the duties for which he was appointed. And even, though it should so happen, that not more than one or two came, he must not be discouraged and dismiss the school, and attend to his own business, but to go on and give them the same instruction as if ever so many came.

May 23. Mr. Young ready to go into school, but no children came.

June 1. The chiefs met for council at the mission house. They talked on several subjects and scolded much. First, they wished to know of the schoolmaster, "when he was going to begin his school—there was no school yet. June council was coming on, when all their people would be gathered from different parts. They would then all be called upon to give their voice respecting the state of the schools, and they expected that every other reservation would report favorably; while they who were the first to receive the Gospel, would be able to report nothing; and they now wished to have an answer immediately, whether the school could not be put in operation or not, before the council? They thought it strange kind of work that their children should be running about all this year past, idle, and some of them had now grown so large that it was not in their power to manage them and would have their own head; and this because the schoolmaster had neglected his duty for other business."

They were then reminded by Brother Young of the manner in which the school had gone on for these three years past, and the reason why so little had been done was shown to be primarily and chiefly their own fault. And as to omitting the school for the erection of the building necessary for a school-house and house for the minister, he had acted according to the commands of the Board, whose orders he should ever think it his duty to obey as long as he continued in their service. They must therefore not blame him. They were then reminded of the propriety of talking on these subjects coolly without breaking good friendship. They in-

tended, they said, to talk in a friendly way, as far as the nature of the case would permit; but they said, there was one thing which hurt their feelings. Ever since the minister came on, they had scarcely heard a single letter read to them, that was directed to him from the Good Society. We managed business as we pleased, and they were kept in utter darkness of what the commands of the Society were; whereas in former times, this never used to be the case, but they heard read every letter the Good Society sent.

This last charge was shown to be a mistake. They were then told that every answer to their talk had been and would be wholly and faithfully read to them; but of letters which were addressed to me, it had been always my plan to read such parts as related to them and their children, and further than that they must not expect. The propriety of such a plan they acknowledged.

They afterwards said, that some time ago they sent a letter to the Good Society, requesting them to take five or six of their children and send them to a distant school, but according to the interpretation, their request was not complied with; and they supposed the reason was, that Mr. Young had written the talk exactly to suit his own ends, and brought a great disappointment upon them. Now these six children had grown up in much ignorance, whereas they might have been of much profit to the nation, had they not been prevented in this way.

Mr. Young then told them, after a number of allegations of unfaithfulness, that though he did profess to be angry with what had been said, yet, for him to be charged with things which could not be substantiated by any proof which they could bring, was a hard case and hurt his feelings extremely. They afterwards became more temperate. Before they dismissed however they wished to know what they were to answer the pagans, in council, should they be charged with the fact of our tilling the ground this year, at Mr. Hyde's former place? They said that we had gone on and planted the ground for our own use, without consulting them; but they supposed and always understood that after any white people had received benefit from their property,

the land together with all the improvements, went back into the hands of the people. And they now expected that when they should be charged with this circumstance in council, that we would rise and say that "the people permitted us to till the lands this year, gratis, but another season we should relinquish all right to the place."

We replied that the Board had expended considerable funds for improvements there, and of course those improvements could not be given away at all, by persons who were their agents. As to planting, we thought we acted correctly in tilling it for our own use, as long as we were not forbidden to the contrary by the Board or themselves. As to the pagans, they might expect they would try to oppose every plan they adopted; that was nothing new; but if they thought proper, in case of being pushed in council by the opposite party, on this subject, to make use of the above assertion themselves, or otherwise let it be till something more could be done about it, we had nothing to say. They returned no answer, and after awhile dismissed, apparently good-natured. School agreed to be opened on the Sabbath. Oh that it might please our Father and our God to give us more evidence that the spirit of Christ dwells in their hearts, but we fear that the love of God is in few of their hearts. Though our feelings are often wounded by their unreasonable and self-sufficient language, yet the thought of being able by the grace [of God] eventually of convincing them of the necessity of a change of disposition and conduct, and of doing good to their immortal souls will we hope through the prevailing prayers of the people of God reconcile us to the endurance of every trial, however severe. We hope we shall not forget that though nominally Christian, many of them are yet strangers to the covenants of promise, without hope and without God in the world—are yet in darkness, and the light of knowledge of the glory of God has not as yet shined into their hearts. May we therefore endure, labor and pray that they may be eventually brought from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.

Sabbath, June 2. Preached two discourses for the first time on Sabbath last. There was some little dissatisfaction

expressed by some of the people of the lateness of the hour of meeting. After the service the chiefs were asked, whether they would have something more of the Gospel. They replied, that they would defer it for the present, but would be glad, if it was agreeable to the minister, to have two discourses on the ensuing Sabbath, the very point to which I had wished for a long time to bring their minds.

Monday, June 3. A number of people met at a late hour this afternoon for the monthly concert of prayer. During the service a short exhortation was addressed to the chiefs in view of their approaching councils. They were urged to manifest a spirit different from the bitterness and wrath of their opposers, believing, as we do, the Scripture truth that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." It appeared evident from their very earnest attention that they felt sensibly what was said. After prayer one of the chiefs came to ask if it was proper for them at this time to attend to any secular business; if it was proper, he said, they would receive it as a favor to have a letter written to their agent. The letter was accordingly written. It was designed to acquaint the agent with the persecution the Baptist schoolmaster had lately received at Tonawanda, in which it was determined that the schoolmaster should immediately leave the Reservation. Of this determination he was soon made acquainted. He was further ordered to hold himself in readiness and pack up his goods and chattels, for on the ensuing day precisely at 12 o'clock wagons would be at his door to remove him and his effects to the settlement from which he came.

To this resolution he seemed to pay very little attention, and appeared for a time to make himself very easy. Thinking however that they might execute their threats, he took his wife and child to school with him and locked up his house, believing they would not have the audacity to break it open. About the set time the wagons came according to promise, stopped at the house and found the house "truly shut up and the effects in all safety." They were at first non-plussed, but after much strong cogitation an expedient was thought of which succeeded admirably. A key was

mustered which suited the lock and the door was soon thrown open, uninjured. They packed up every thing they could conveniently carry without damage, carried them off to the Batavia road, procured a house in which to store them, and locked the door, delivered the key and returned.

Mr. Bingham the school-master had the painful mortification to witness the whole transaction from the window of his school-house. At this outrage our chiefs here appeared quite indignant and intended to inform the agent, without delay.

Tuesday 11 June. Had a serious conversation with Lewis Two-guns, brother to the chief of that name. He has lived a year or two with white people, and acquired the wagon-making trade, and talks considerable English. He says he often thinks of his soul, and not a day passes over his head without thinking much on the subject. His conduct has sometimes been volatile but lately has been marked with much more seriousness. His judgment is convinced that he is a sinner and in great need of salvation; but I am afraid his heart is not greatly impressed. His views appear rather legal: he thinks he sins, but his sins are small, and till I told him better he thought he was gaining upon them every day. We think him an interesting person, moral, modest and pleasant: and like the young man in the Gospel, apparently "not far from the kingdom of Heaven."

June 20. Council and its proceedings.

June 25. The chiefs met in council at the Mission house for the purpose of informing us what they would do with respect to embodying the children. This object, which we have so long had in view, and [regarding] the success of which we have had much anxiety, is likely after so long a time to be attained. Several things have conspired to retard this business; the prejudices of the people, misunderstanding with respect to our intentions, and other things have all been barriers in the way. On this occasion however our intentions have been more fully explained, and there appears a better understanding between the missionaries and the natives with respect to what will be done with the children in prosecuting their education. They said that they were able

to put into our family ten children, to be entirely under our control, together with two from Allegany and Cattaraugus; but the other boys who had grown beyond the age prescribed by the Society, should be faithfully sent from home every day. The number they remarked was less than they expected to have put into our charge, but that there were a great many more younger ones who would soon be of suitable age to be received. These boys they wished constantly to have attend to their books, and for that reason they were unwilling to have them instructed in agriculture or be engaged in any kind of work.

The impropriety of such a request was shown them by saying that it was contrary to the direction to their father the President, as they knew from the Government circular which had been sent to them; that by so doing the school would lose seven or eight hundred dollars per year, which would be applied for the use of their children. Also it was contrary to the expectations of the Society, who expected that together with learning to read and write, they should be taught to work and be industrious; that the children would lose nothing in their studies by such a plan, but be rather gainers because they would be kept out of idleness.

They immediately withdrew their request in surprise by saying they thought our object was to make the children work to pay for the clothes they wore, most of the time, in the woods, but now they understood all things perfectly, and should deliver these children into our hands to do with them just as we saw proper. This number should be the commencement, but that in time we might expect a number more.

Saturday, June 29. Day of fasting and prayer.

July 1. This day our eyes have beheld in view of our increased charge, with unspeakable pleasure, fifteen interesting little immortals in the bosom of the family, and apparently much delighted with their situation and prospects. For this, we have long hoped and prayed, and oh that they might be trained up for God. If our own hearts deceive us not it is our most fervent petition to him who is able "to pity the ignorant and those who are out of the way," that he vouchsafe to them his Divine guidance, that they may be

ornaments to the religion of the Saviour while they live and made fit for an holy heaven when they die. We shall certainly have twenty, when they all come who have been promised. No doubt many fervent prayers of the Board, and of the dear people of God, will ascend for their salvation.

July 10. The number of children admitted into the family has increased to 24. It is probable however some will not tarry. We do believe, notwithstanding the influence of some adverse circumstances, that the Lord is about to do something efficiently for the rising generation of this poor dear people. The process by which the work is going on is extremely slow and requires strong faith and perseverance of exertion; believing, that though we may die without seeing any marvelous results, yet we may have at last the felicity, after having sown, to rejoice together with those who reap. The children with two or three exceptions have [done] well and are generally very intelligent.

July 16. The Lord has seen proper to afflict us by the loss of our horse. He died a few days since of the botts, on a visit to Cattaraugus. Everything was done that could be done to save him, but in vain. We shall be compelled to get another immediately.

July —. This morning several of the larger boys went home without leave, which has been the occasion of setting almost the whole school in a tumult about home. It requires great patience and judgment to get them obedient.

July 25. We were visited today by one of the Alleghany chiefs, who brought his son to be initiated into the school. He promised when at the June council to bring some of his children after a few weeks. He wished to know the terms on which he could be received, that the bargain might be fully understood. After an explanation of our plan he appeared satisfied, and said he should give his boy to be kept by us as long as we should choose to instruct him. He enquired the length of time that was expected to elapse before the children could finish their course of study, observing that there were a number of people on all the reservations who appeared pleased with the plan of our school, but their minds were not altogether satisfied with the length of

time they were required to stay. Some had understood six years and some five. He wished therefore to know the precise time they would be required to stay, in order that his friends might be able to decide whether they would send their children or not. On being told that we should expect all the children to remain at least two years and generally three he appeared pleased, and gave us to understand that we might most probably expect two or three more soon after his return home.

Aug. 1. The family was considerably disturbed by the intrusion of one of the natives in a passion, who is the father of two of our children. Brother Young found one [of] the children in mischief and reprimanded her for it. She resented it and ran home to her parents and made them believe that she had been greatly abused. Both parents came in about ten o'clock at night, greatly incensed, and took them both away.

Aug. 7. Today the children returned [with] parents' consent. [Note] consequences to the school from such conduct and chiefs' interference. A council was held this day at the mission house, composed of chiefs and warriors from Allegany and Cattaraugus and Buffalo, for the purpose of hearing the opinion of the minister respecting some unpleasant information which had been received in regard to what the opposition party in a general council had effected, and in regard to the general success of opposition. Some exhortations to constancy were addressed to the assembly, which were very gratefully received, in answer by an Alleghany chief; their minds were fixed.

The council was closed by a spirited speech by an Alleghany chief in endeavoring to settle the minds of his fathers and brethren, on the immense importance of delivering up their children to their brothers the teachers, who had come to instruct them in the right way. He said, "we had long enough neglected our children and the consequence of it we could now sufficiently see in their idleness and sin: that they had not the correct method of bringing up their children, but the white people had; and we ought not to find fault with them because they corrected them." They ap-

peared pleased with the school, very much. One of them is the father of the lad who is with us from the Allegany Reservation, and says that there will probably be more from that place that will apply for admission.

With respect to the school: it is now diminished to seventeen in number. Some who came first have become discontented with confinement and have gone home, and a few have been taken sick. The number that remain appear contented and obedient and apparently happy, and generally make handsome progress. May it please the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ to add some of them to his church of such as shall be saved.

Sabbath, Aug. 25. We were pained today to see the tardiness of the people in attending church, and the indifference manifested by many to the sacred institutions of that holy day. Our congregation a few weeks since was full to overflowing, consisting generally of from 50 to 75 and 80 adults. Now many appear little disposed to listen to the words of life, by absenting themselves from the house of worship.

After service the people were informed by one of the old chiefs that on tomorrow a feast would be observed in commemoration of those of the older members of the congregation lately deceased, this to be a kind of Passover, held the 12th day after the decease of the person. The particular ceremonies are not known, but it is a part of their former superstition. Oh when will they learn righteousness and turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God!

Sabbath, Sept. 1. Two or three of the congregation were invited home with us today for the purpose of a free conversation on the state of their souls. Seven came and joined with us in our evening conference. Those with whom we had time to converse appeared truly thankful for this attention of their minister, and at his request opened their minds freely on the several subjects proposed. They seemed to feel deeply their own unworthiness and generally a deep sense of guilt. One said he sometimes thought his sin too great to think it possible for God to forgive, but then again

he reflected that the mercy of the Lord was great, and he rejoiced that there was a door of hope opened even for "the vilest of the vile." Another said that every day he came short of doing his duty to his Maker; he felt it; he knew it; but he had often heard and he did believe in his heart that Jesus was an almighty Saviour; his whole life was on his mercy and he might do with him just as he saw proper. He was asked if he delighted in unburdening his mind to his Saviour, whenever his mind was pressed with any difficulty or any sin? He replied that he did not forget to seek the grace of God every day; sometimes along with others, and sometimes when he was in the woods alone and no eye saw him but the eye of his Saviour, he was accustomed to pour out his heart in prayer to his God.

Monday, Sept. 2. Monthly concert; a number attended.

Wednesday, Sept. 4. The Lord appears gracious to us in favoring us with opportunities of carrying on our several operations. We have just erected a frame as an addition to our kitchen department. It is a large piazza, intended for washing, buttery, etc., etc., for the children.

Thursday, Sept. 19, 1821.* A general council was this day opened at our council house of the whole Six Nations, for the purpose of preparatory measures for distributing the annuity, the United States agent and interpreter being present. At this season several important communications from Government were read by the agent to the council, directed to both parties. One was an answer to a letter from the chiefs of the Christian party, commending them for the zeal and engagedness they have manifested in promoting their own civilization and happiness, notwithstanding the opposition of some of their own people; and exhorting them to prosecute these measures, for as long [as] they pursued this wise course they would always receive the countenance and support of Government. Another was a communication to Capt. Parrish, including instructions quite favorable to the increase of school and improvements generally. The last was a communication addressed principally to the opposite party and containing a severe reprimand for the determined

* Should be 1822.

opposition and unwarranted hostilities which they have lately manifested towards teachers and missionaries, contrary to the wishes of Government and their own best interests.

"We have viewed," say they, "the conduct of the party among the Six Nations called the Pagan party, with marked disapprobation; that the institutions in the Six Nations having been established with the consent of a number of the most respectable chiefs, and with the approbation of the Government, a continuance of the violent opposition which they have lately manifested towards them, and in particular any attempts to remove them, against the wishes of so many of their own people and that of the Government, will be considered as highly unjust to the former and disrespectful and offensive to the latter."

These communications, so favorable to our cause, greatly embarrassed the opposite party. Our hope is, that it may have the effect of opening a door of peaceful residence to our brother missionaries on the Indian land. We do believe that the Lord will still grant that the minds of these scattered tribes will be blest with the means of salvation. "Let the people praise thee Oh Lord, let all the people praise thee." Another boy brought to us today.

Saturday, Sept. 21. Another council held at Buffalo in the presence of Capt. Jones, Parrish, Gen. Porter and H. B. Potter, Esq., attorney general. Remarks were made by Gen. Porter on the nature of the communications from Government, expressing his opinion, as a peacemaker, that the documents were genuine and showed the zeal of the Government to promote their present and future welfare. That they were genuine he had no doubt, for that he himself has had an opportunity, by his residence at Washington during the last winter, of ascertaining the views of Government; and believes them to accord perfectly with the sentiments of the communications. And whereas he observed some blame has been attached to the agent for countenancing education and improvements, he thought it an unjust censure, because as an officer of the Government he was in duty bound to carry into effect as far as possible the views of the Government.

Jacket, finding himself so much galled by the clear and candid statements which were made, left the council in disgust, and has been so intoxicated as to be incapable of any business ever since.

Sabbath, 22d Sept. The congregation met for worship as usual at the council house, our usual place of worship. The exercises were attended with due punctuality but not with that eagerness which has sometimes been manifest in our religious meetings. The service of the afternoon was conducted at the mission house, for the purpose of attending a funeral. A number of strangers were present. We trust the Lord was with us, by his Spirit to give efficacy to his truth. An unusual solemnity and feeling evidently pervaded the assembly, which gave great interest to our meeting.

Tuesday, 24th Sept. We were grieved today to see all the girls of our family running home without permission. One of the smaller girls has lately been quite troublesome, so much so as to receive reproof from one of the sisters. She did better for a while, but again trespassed. We told her father, the same one who not long since came and took them both away. He conversed with his child, but in such a manner we believe as to do but little good; indeed she has since been worse. She had endeavored to induce the others to run away with her, but they did not choose to go. To-day however a couple of squaws came and conversed with them, and they immediately went home. We expect that they were told to come and assist their parents in gathering the corn harvest, without consulting us on the subject. Thus we are tried with this ignorant, inconsiderate people. They wish their children instructed and complain at the shadow of neglect towards them, and on the most trivial occasion will teach them to disobey us. The Lord convince us of the need of patience and submission; and them of the folly of such measures.

Wednesday, 25th Sept. Six of the natives met this afternoon, according to previous agreement for social prayer and mutual conference on the state of their souls. These seasons are often most delightful and refreshing. It was truly calculated to awake our sympathies and excite us to praise God.

to see one of our serious chiefs who has lately been brought near to the gates of death, while relating the state of his mind affected to tears. But a short time ago, comparatively, he was immersed in heathenish darkness, the thick gloom of superstition hovering over his soul. Now he appears to think upon his former course but with disgust and we would humbly hope with true repentance. They expressed a determination, generally, that by the grace of God they were resolved to seek the face of him who is able to save unto the uttermost all who come unto God by him, until they found him precious unto their souls.

Thursday, 26th Sept. Two children, a girl and a boy, were brought to us from Tuscarora. Our school appears to be growing popular among our neighbors. The Lord grant that it may be blessed to the salvation of many souls.

Saturday, 28th Sept. The chiefs having been previously informed of the conduct of the children, sent a deputation today on account of the rain, to converse with us on the subject. They had much fault to find with our methods of conducting the school, and our establishment generally. The teacher was blamed for not being more confined to his duties as teacher, and for not treating the children when they behaved ill in a more conciliatory manner, using more tenderness and caution in his attempts to correct them. They did not think it was generally the best way to correct children with the rod; but to use persuasive measures and coax them into obedience. This way they supposed to be much the best. And if the children were disobedient and did not do as they ought, with such measures, tell the parents of the children and let them reprove them. They were then asked, what should be done, should all these measures be pursued and still the child prove refractory? They answered, that in such case the only alternative was, that if both parties failed in this generally sure remedy, to consider the child as an heathen man and a publican; a poor lost ruined creature that is fit for nothing, and so cast him out. They remarked among many other frivolous things, that the time was drawing near, they supposed, when we should be making out a report to Government on the state of the establishment and

the progress of the scholars, etc., and they supposed the fault of the children's tardiness in learning would be thrown on their shoulders, but they stood prepared to deny any such assertion, because the fault of the children's not learning more was because the teacher did not attend to his duty as he ought. They were then plainly told that as to the children's progress we were persuaded that those who behaved well and were obedient did learn and did improve in every thing useful quite as fast as children in white schools and families generally do; but as to those who would continue to do ill and were disobedient they would never learn with the best of teaching in the world; and if they as guardians would continue to complain of us as unfaithful, because we could not in conscience countenance their children's depravity, the Board must know it and the world know it, and the sin would in a measure lie at their own door. With respect to our communication to Government, we did not intend to lay any blame upon those who did not deserve it. We intended to state facts merely, without note or comment. It should be according to truth and we should not be ashamed to let it undergo the strictest scrutiny by any one.

They concluded by saying that the children should all come back, and they finally thought that in the course of a little time more would come, especially of the women, to attend upon the work-school, which has been suspended mostly during the summer for want of proper assistance; few of the women choosing to come also. Among these they supposed would be a number of young women of the opposite party, who they knew were anxious to come, and who now also had the right to come, inasmuch as they themselves had agreed in council that Christianity might be tried on this reservation only. All these young women therefore wanted was an invitation on our part to attend. They were told, that that department would again be put into operation as soon as a female teacher could be procured by the Board for the use of the mission in this place. We then parted by mutual tokens of good will.

We finally think that the caprices of a few of these un-

enlightened chiefs in regard to their children, ought not be indulged. We are well assured, as any person can be, that mild and conciliatory measures ought to be employed in reforming the conduct of children as long as they prove successful. This we believe is the easiest and by far the pleasantest method; but the rod is the plan of God's own appointment, and we do believe that the rod judiciously managed will oftentimes do more to ensure the obedience of all kinds and descriptions of children than all the persuasion and coaxing in the world. It ought however to be made and we intend to make it the last resort always; without always consulting the parents, who are as often as unyielding and as unreasonable as the children themselves. We are further willing to trust God for the issue of such a course.

Friday, Oct. 4th. We were this day visited by our dear brother Kanouse, agent of the Board. We hope our hearts have been refreshed and our drooping spirits raised by this valued brother. May the Lord bless this brother in his attempts to recommend the cause of missions in this part of the country. May his heart be encouraged and his hands strengthened by the hand of the mighty God of Jacob!

Monday, Oct. 6th. Today being the monthly concert of prayer, a goodly number attended. After the exercises of the afternoon Bro. Kanouse held a talk with the chiefs of the Christian party respecting the progress of the school department. Our brother affectionately told them his disappointment in not seeing more of their children in the care of the family who were appointed for their instruction, and held up to their view the disposition that was so prevalent among our red brothers to the south, to encourage the hearts of their missionaries by causing the children to show a prompt attending on their instruction. They attempted to palliate the matter in some degree, but appeared considerably confused. We trust that the conversation of our brother has had a very salutary influence in bringing their minds to consider their remissness in not sending their children with more assuredty to the school. The Lord grant that their eyes may be opened to this important department. They promised to do all in their power.

Oct. 8. Today Sister Harris was blessed with a young daughter. May God in his holy providence consecrate this event for his glory.

Saturday, Oct. 27. It was this day determined to suspend two services during the winter, and instead of the afternoon service the people acceded very cheerfully to the proposal to meet for an evening lecture on Wednesday evening at the mission house, and after the service to attend to instruction in singing. By uniting the season of singing (a recreation) and worship together we suppose that many more will attend worship than would were these attended to on separate evenings.

Wednesday, Oct. 30. More attended the evening lecture than were expected. We trust that this arrangement will not only tend to our own comfort, but by bringing children together with the people into one worshipping assembly, important spiritual advantages will result to them. Bless the Lord Oh our souls for any opening of usefulness among this interesting people.

Nov. 2. This day completed the annual report to the General Government.*

Sabbath, Nov. 3. Our worshipping assembly this day appeared unusually interesting. Before the religious exercises commenced one of the principal chiefs arose and addressed the assembly, consisting of about 80 souls, on the importance of obeying those directions of the great and good God which were from Sabbath and Sabbath and from time to time explained to them from the word of God; and as far as we could ascertain attempted to admonish the audience, for some departure from Gospel integrity and obedience which had lately come within the reach of his observation. The same thing was very feelingly and from his manner I should say forcibly done by Pollard, the chief speaker on the last Sabbath. He arose before the people, immediately after the minister had left his desk, and with apparent decision and earnestness and at the same time with all the affection, reprimanded his people for certain conduct which he considered at war with evangelical truth and righteousness.

* For this report, see *ante*, pp. 143-145.

Today I was told by the interpreter after the chief had finished his address, that it was expected a large number of the Onondagas would attend who had never been professedly favorable to Gospel instruction; and it was a request of the chiefs that I should take my text in some portion of the word of God which would lead me to show the entire insufficiency of their former superstition to make them either comfortable in this world or happy in the world to come. The subject proposed for their consideration is contained in Heb. 8:10: "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel, after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts; and I will be to them a God and they shall be to me a people."

Thursday, Nov. 14. Had a most interesting sick-bed conversation with Jonathan Jacket, who is apparently following to the grave with rapid strides his brother William who died in J—— last. When I entered the house I found the interpreter with a number of his friends collected to see him. After informing me that he expected the doctor soon, to administer to his complaint, I supposed I had little time to lose, and therefore commenced conversation with him on the affairs of his soul. I asked, whether this subject would be agreeable to him. He replied that it would, because "that was the principal thing." I then requested him to open his mind to me without any restraint, because I wished to do him good. He answered, that whatever he should say should be the truth, for that God was his witness, who was in every place and knew the thoughts of his heart, and it was therefore in vain to attempt to deceive him. He then went on to state, that on Sabbath last, he felt more concerned than usual for his friends, particularly his grandmother, mother, wife, nephew and wife and cousins, some of whom had never attended the preaching of the Gospel, and those that had he supposed understood it but imperfectly; he therefore called them to his bedside and counselled them separately, declaring that he for one did believe, contrary to the opinion of some of his people, that there was a day of judgment coming, when the world should be judged before God, and that

Jesus Christ would reward every person according to his works; the wicked he would reward with everlasting fire, and the righteous with endless happiness; he therefore hoped that they would try to be prepared for that great day and repent of every sin, and put away every improper disposition, and put their whole trust in God.

He had previously informed me that he felt himself to be a sinner, and that he had determined to repent and give himself up to God. Fearing however that he had perhaps put the determination instead of the thing itself, I considered it my duty to preach Christ and him crucified as plainly and pointedly as possible. I therefore addressed him by saying, that he had told me that he had felt himself to be a sinner and that now there was no reason why he should not receive forgiveness, since the Lord Jesus had died for just such persons as he felt himself to be, provided they truly felt their sins to be a burden, and would consent to throw the burden on the arm of Jesus, who has declared himself able to bear it. And that though his sins had been like mountains rising toward the heavens, still the mercy of God like a mighty river was able to rise above them and hide them forever. After continuing the conversation for some time I closed by saying that it was impossible for me to determine whether he had made his peace with God or not, that God himself only could search the heart of man; that as a single man I could only judge of my own spirit by the rule that God had given; but as a minister of Christ I was bound to tell others and him among the rest, that if we ever love Jesus at all, it must be before we go hence to be no more in this world, or not at all; that God had declared in regard to the next world, that "as the tree falleth, so it lieth," there was therefore no repentance there: and as I feared his days would be but few in this world, I hoped that what his hands found to do he would do it with his might. This was all I had to say, and my prayer was that God would be with him in his sickness to sanctify all his trials to him. I asked him if I should pray with him. Having looked me full in the face the whole while he now put his hand to his face and burst into tears, and sobbed aloud and said, "Sir, I thank you a thousand

times for what you have now said to me in regard to my soul. You have now given me more satisfaction in this short conversation than I have ever received in my whole life—you have enlightened my understanding more than any man has ever done before. My heart is full, and all I can say is it is my anxious wish that you pray to God for me."

The whole audience was at once melted; to weep with those who weep, to me, in this case was easy. To have refrained would have been more than brutal. We then knelt down and commended him to God in prayer. After rising from prayer he the second time expressed his gratitude for the comfort his mind had received during the conversation. After expressing my determination to call upon him from time to time as my circumstances would admit, I took my leave and departed.

Nov. 25. The conduct of one of the natives today has more than ever convinced us of the importance of pursuing one strait, steady and scriptural course in all our operations among this people. The father of two children who some time since became displeased with the teacher for scolding his disobedient girls, again became displeased and said that he should take away his girls, inasmuch as they were accused of leading away the whole school; and he would see whether their absence would be likely to restore the order which we had complained of as being disturbed. We told him that he could do as he thought best in relation to the matter; that we were sorry to think that children so capable of receiving proper instruction as his were, should be suffered to run about idle and lose all they had learned. He was however not to be diverted from his purpose.

He returned today and desired to have his children again reinstated, because both the children had pleaded with tears to be returned. After seeing our hesitation on the subject he became more earnest and confessed that he had done very wrong in conducting as he had done in relation to his children; and promised that if they again misbehaved he should be cheerful in having them corrected; and if they ran home he would correct them and send them back. We consented that one might come, but that the other be suspended for a

short time that she may be taught to consider the school a privilege.

Nov. 27 Have just returned from visiting Jacket, who will survive but a few days at most. The principal chiefs were collected to pay him their last visit, among whom was Red Jacket his father. Being already exhausted with conversation I judged it proper to converse but little. His most serious and judicious friends told me however that he had expressed the state of his mind at large; that he was tired of earth, that God had blessed his soul through Jesus Christ, and that now he had "no wish to live but earnestly desired to depart to be with Christ which is far better." If any hopes are ever to be cherished in regard to a deathbed repentance I should think that in this case we may hope that he will die in peace.

Dec. 25. The Christian party were pretty generally collected today to receive their Christmas presents. We should judge the number consisted of 150 souls. They expressed much gratitude for the kindness of the family, and listened with respectful attention to a discourse founded on the words "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to men."

Dec. 26. One of the native women came to the minister today to state her grievances in regard to her husband, stating that he had gone and left her without any provocation; and she thought if I would hear what she had to say I might be able to befriend her by my counsel. She is the wife of the amiable Young Two-guns, brother of the chief of that name. I told her that it appeared proper that she should state her grievances, but that prudence dictated the propriety of doing it in the presence of her husband, that I might be able to give advice to both. As she had no objections, the husband was immediately sent for and came forthwith. They were both heard, one of the principal chiefs being present. The young man is inflexible; says that he is fully convinced from repeated trials that her disposition is such as will forever break his peace if he live with her; and whereas she now desires to be married in the Christian manner her object is only to bind him fast that she may lord it over him. From

our acquaintance with the family as well as with the individual woman we have pretty strong impressions that a youth of such inoffensive manners and amiable disposition would not be disposed to violate a rule of the Gospel without strong inducements to self-justification in so doing. The custom of putting away their wives and marrying others however, is an evil prevalent among this people, deeply affecting their temporal comfort and injurious to the Christian cause. They never I believe bind themselves for life; but the marriage contract is dissolved at the option of the parties. May it please God who has begun a good work among them to set aside every barrier to the diffusion of his truth, and the general universal acceptance of his laws.

Dec. 28. I requested a council of the chiefs on this afternoon, with a view to ascertain what might be done in doing away the practice of putting away their wives for reasons not sanctioned by the word of God. They were reminded of the extent of the evil which prevailed among them and had prevailed among them so long, attended with such unhappy consequences.

A plan was proposed with a view to ameliorate the condition in this respect, to this effect: that as marriage was not a sacrament, nor anything peculiar to Christian communities, but a matter of public benefit, they owed it to themselves as directors of their nation to recommend some plan that may be disposed to lead their people from so much laxness in this respect. My individual opinion was, that if the younger men and some of the middle-aged of the chiefs were to come forward in a public manner and desirous of showing a good example, be married in the Christian fashion, the object with blessing of God might be attained.

To this they replied that by the assistance of the great and good God they should certainly try their utmost to comply with my request; and they could now rejoice in the full belief that God had prospered them in their feeble attempts to do their duty; because that they had spent the whole day on yesterday, at their council house, on this same subject; and what appeared singular and matter of rejoicing to them was, that we had both hit upon the identical expedient to

remedy the difficulty; and I might rest assured that they were more thankful for the proposal now made than for anything that had befallen them (as they expressed it) "this many a day." They would converse with the chiefs and answer soon.

Jan. 6. [1823]. Met for the monthly concert of prayer; an unusual number present. The chiefs and people generally listened with deep interest to some religious intelligence. After the services of the evening they conversed on the subject proposed to them on the 28th ult. They said that their deliberation on that subject was that a couple of their young men had professed their desire to be married in a lawful Christian manner, for the purpose of setting their own minds at rest, and also as an example to their nation. They pitched upon Wednesday for the solemnization of the marriage. With this request we have thought it proper to comply, trusting in God that if it will not eventually be attended with good, it will effect no evil. They concluded by asking if it would be in our power to gratify their wishes of preparing a supper for the parties to be married, provided they found the provisions. They were told that we would be disposed to gratify their wishes as far as might appear to be proper. They would at once see the propriety of our not adapting any of the funds of the Board to such an object; but as they had generously offered to contribute all the materials for a supper on this occasion, I would leave it with our females, on whom the burden would chiefly fall, to say whether it would be in their power to gratify their wishes in this respect or not. Upon the sisters expressing their consent they left us exceedingly pleased.

Jan. 28. We have lately received three boxes of clothing for the use of this mission, one from Orange Co., New York, and two from the congregations at Raritan and Millstone, New Jersey. This has proved a most acceptable present, especially the bedding, which has been much needed at this station. May He who has declared that "those who devise, by liberal things shall be made fat," enrich our dear friends with all needful grace and mercy for this instance of love to his cause. May our Lord Jesus Christ himself and God

ever our Father, give them everlasting consolation and good hope through grace, comfort their hearts and stablish them in every good word and work.

Feb. 2. Monday. The concert for prayer was this day in consequence of a funeral in the afternoon among the opposite party, but thinly attended. After the exercises were over I thought it my duty to consult the views of the chiefs in regard to the new arrangement of the Board, to embody the children of the Tuscarora tribe in our family. They offered no objection to the plan, and we presume will not.

Feb. 3. We are sorry to think that two of our promising boys, who are in part claimed by the opposite party, have left the school in consequence of a correction received for bad conduct; the effect on the rest of the children has been most salutary.

Two young men have solicited marriage in the Christian form. They were both expected to have been married, but the bride of one was compelled to postpone the matter on account of the conduct of her brother, a Pagan, who is raving mad with her, for attempting such a thing. The man and woman both sent the minister word, however, that they "shall embrace the first opportunity to have their wishes gratified in spite of his opposition."

Feb. 14. Brother Crane* arrived last evening, desiring a council with the Indian chiefs today. They convened according to appointment. The subject proposed was, to obtain their full and free consent in permitting the Tuscarora children to become embodied along with theirs at this station in compliance with the wishes of the Board. This consent appeared necessary in order to satisfy the minds of the Tuscarora chiefs, who were unwilling that the friendship of the two tribes should be disturbed. Brother Crane

* James C. Crane was born in Morristown, N. J.; united with the church in 1813 and in 1817 was appointed to the Tuscarora mission by the New York Missionary Society. For two or three years he lived under the Lewiston mountain, removing to Tuscarora village in 1821; the next year the church was built, 30 feet by 20. Troubles arose, Mr. Crane resigned, and for two years was general agent of the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society. When that society was transferred to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he was chosen assistant secretary of the Bible Society, but died a week later, aged 32 years.

addressed them at some length on the importance of the plan already submitted for the consideration of the Board; but did not expect they would pass a decision upon any part of it, except so far as related to the reception of the Tuscarora children.

The result of their deliberations on the subject however, was that the matter appeared to affect their interests so deeply that they could not pass an opinion until it was brought before their next June council, when the matter would be taken up and decision made in a regular manner. Brother Crane wished them in a particular manner to understand that it was not his expectation that they should pass an opinion in regard to any other part of it, than so far as related to the Tuscaroras; as the Board themselves had not as yet sent the whole plan to them for their ratification and adoption; but only wished to know their opinion in regard to the Tuscaroras only.

To this they after some consultation replied as before, that the matter could be more regularly determined in a larger assembly. They concluded by expressing their thanks to the missionaries for taking so much interest in their welfare, and they hoped that they would be instrumental in doing much for their several nations.

March 1. The minister has been able during the past month to find time amidst the pressing concerns of the establishment, to visit several of the more serious natives; and it is encouraging to reflect with what gratitude and respect those visits have been received. We trust we may do much good by having such a good opportunity as these visits afford to instruct the families in the principle of domestic subordination and family government, in which they are very deficient.

March 2. Two of the principal chiefs called today to procure some communication to their agent. They appeared much chagrined when they learned that the petition of the friends of Christianity and civilization in this and the adjoining counties, praying for the alteration of the law of this State, in relation to the residents on Indian lands, so that ministers of the Gospel and mechanics of good moral char-

acter be excepted; was negatived in the Assembly of this State. Surely God will overrule all this for good.

March 8. Today the two boys who left us some time ago have come back; the one came and plead to be returned, saying that he had done wrong and is very sorry. The other was forcibly taken away against the will of the boy, to gratify the whim of a very drunken dissipated parent. He has now returned through the interference of the chiefs. Their tattered and filthy garments were immediately exchanged for their former suits, and the smile of health and contentment is now lighted up on their countenances, which were before pale through hunger and sullen by despair.

March 10. Another interesting little girl was brought to us today by one of the chiefs, who said that she was very desirous to come and live with us. Her age is ten years. We have given her the name of Catalina Vroom, after a particular friend. Our school is certainly becoming more and more tractable. The whole number is seventeen. The progress they make in the knowledge of household business and in the various branches of study which occupy their attention the most of the day is truly gratifying. There is one class of six or seven who read fluently in the New Testament, another who spell in words of two or three syllables, and one or two beginners. They also make tolerable progress in learning the English language.

Wednesday, March 27. An intelligent lad of sixteen years of age was brought to the school by one of the young men of the tribe, who says that he is a connection of the Mohawks at Grand River, U. C. While at Grand River during the winter the father and aged grandmother of the lad (his own mother being dead) placed him under his care, being a relative, with a particular charge to have him educated if possible. Having received such a charge he has brought him to us to be placed entirely under our control. He has had already some slight acquaintance with letters, and speaks pretty correct English; and on these two accounts we have thought it proper to admit him to the privileges of school though he is a little in excess of the age prescribed by the Board; especially too considering the im-

portance of an interpreter in the school, the want of which we have often experienced, and also considering his acquaintance with two or three Indian languages. With him came also one very bright lad, who was initiated last July with the rest, but was induced to leave us, as we understand, through discontent occasioned in part through affection for his mother who at the time lay dangerously ill with a fever. His excuse thus rendered by the mother, has been sustained under promise that he remain steadfast in future, making our whole number about twenty.

At the close of the singing this evening we had the satisfaction to state to the congregation present that the printing of the Indian hymn-books prepared by the teacher for the use of the school and for the congregation, was now completed. It was also stated that the printing and binding of the whole number of copies (which is 500) will cost near \$40.00, and that as only \$20.00 had been appropriated by a few benevolent white men for this object, we expected that they would assist us in defraying part of the expense of printing; that they might either agree to pay the remaining sum, in whole or in part, or take the books at 25 cents apiece, not however before they had examined them a little for themselves, and see whether they could derive benefit from them. One or two of the hymns were then interpreted and sung by those who can read, verse by verse. They appeared exceedingly pleased and pronounced it "very good," and said that they should cheerfully take upon themselves to defray at least part of the expense; but supposed that as the books would be equally useful to all the Seneca nation on the five reservations, it appeared proper that the expense should be so divided, not that "one should be eased and another burdened," but that all should pay an equal portion. They therefore advised that the teacher keep the books in his possession until the approaching June council, when the necessary expense should be defrayed out of their annuity.

Sabbath, March 31. An opportunity was offered before preaching this morning to consult the feelings in a more particular manner of four natives, in regard to their uniting themselves with the church of Christ. In addition to the

frequent opportunities which have been presented for catechising these persons for more than a year past, it has been made a special object of attention to visit each of them at their own dwellings and to spend a greater part of a day in conversing with them all expressly on this solemn subject, with one exception. Unexpected circumstances have occurred from time to time, so as to prevent any direct conversation with him on the subject of covenanting with God and his people. It was thought best to begin with him first alone. The object was stated to him for his assent or dissent and an invitation given to covenant with us to serve God. He said, "it was true that hindrances had been thrown in the way of my addressing him in particular on that subject, and he had frequently thought that perhaps this was an indication from God that he was not to be considered worthy so great a privilege. He knew it was just in God to reject him, for he felt himself unworthy, a great sinner, and should he be left to perish in his sins God would still be just." On thus saying he wept freely. He afterwards said that his sole dependance was in Christ for salvation; and if I thought, as one appointed to direct the ignorant and strengthen the weak, that this union with Christ might be attended with good, he had no objections. The others were then called forward and questioned with respect to their determination, giving themselves wholly up to God if it was his will. They all expressed their unworthiness but still had a desire to acquiesce in the will of God, whatever that might be. Next Sabbath week was appointed as the day for their baptism and for entering into solemn covenant with God, and a meeting appointed for the candidates on Wednesday at the mission house for conference and further conversation on this subject.

Wednesday, March 2. The candidates for baptism came according to appointment. The meeting commenced with prayer, after which an address was made to them, showing the important nature of that warfare on which they were about to enter, and the peculiar obligations which would devolve upon them to be the Lord's. They expressed the liveliest gratitude for what they learned, and it is perhaps

sufficient to say that their whole conversation and deportment were highly gratifying.

Saturday, April 12. The candidates for baptism, with a number of the people, met for worship this afternoon and for the purpose of entering into church covenant with the members of the mission family. Oh that they may not only covenant in name but in deed and in truth; and may it please God to interest them in the covenant of his love and prepare them all for the enjoyment of his blessed self in glory everlasting. Brother Crane was expected to have assisted on this occasion. On tomorrow they are to be baptised and the sacrament to be administered in our place of worship.

Sabbath, April 13. A delightful spring morning, truly emblematical of that Sabbath of rest and glory, when saints shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine here, but when Jesus shall drink it new with them in his Father's kingdom. We enjoyed a precious season of prayer this morning in view of the solemnities of the day now before us. Truly God is good to Israel, even to such as are of a clean heart. Oh Lord God, "purge us with hysop and we shall be clean, wash us and we shall be whiter than snow." "Make us to hear joy and gladness that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice."

About 12 o'clock the people had pretty generally collected to view the solemn feast, everything having been previously arranged. Discourse from I Cor., 6, 20: "For ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God, in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." After sermon the candidates were called forward and questioned on some of the plainer truths of the Bible, and as to the sincerity of their desires to devote themselves to God in that covenant which is well ordered and sure in all things. After expressing their assent, the nature of baptism was explained more fully to their comprehension. The four, one by one, then knelt down and were baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, and were invited to the table. It was still and solemn; and our prayer is that our God and Father would condescend to ratify in heaven the

sincere service of us frail imperfect mortals here on earth. The audience, consisting of 150 persons, was as solemn and orderly as could reasonably be expected. Thanks to God that he has planted this infant church in this heathen land. "Look down Oh Lord God, and visit this vine, and the vineyard which thy right hand has planted."

Next Sabbath was appointed for baptism of young children of those who were for the first time admitted to the sealing ordinances of the church.

Monday, July 28. We have ever labored under a disadvantage in regard to the instruction of the children at this station, in consequence of the unwillingness of the parents to place their children under our entire control as in other places. They have insisted and do still insist that their children have the privilege of visiting their homes one day in a week; the result has uniformly been such as we anticipated; and though an attempt has been made once and again to have their permission to let their children remain a longer term with us, we have hitherto proved unsuccessful. Several instances however have lately occurred, which are so manifestly expressive of the folly of having the minds of the children so frequently bent on home, that we have come to a determination that if the school ever succeeds the children must remain with [us] three months at a time, and at a council of the chiefs this day convened, we have affectionately, patiently and decidedly stated our determination and the causes which induced us to make it. They listened very attentively and after much and long consultation without coming to any agreement, they have finally deferred the answer, much to our disappointment, to the coming of the two commissioners who are soon expected from the Board.

Tuesday, July 29. The interpreter called this morning with a message to the minister from our dear friend and brother, Seneca White. He is decidedly the nearest earthly friend we have in this country, and the pillar of his people. "He had in council, yesterday," said the interpreter, "pleaded your cause, the cause of the children and of the Board, *like a lawyer*, but to no effect in regard to one or two of the

older chiefs. They are still deaf to the cause of truth, notwithstanding all that he can urge. As to the others, they have had but one mind on the subject. He has now sent me to you, to let you know something of his trials. He states that after the decision, yesterday, his mind has been greatly agitated, not a bit of sleep has he had all the night. The reason, he says, he sees the obstinacy, the ingratitude, the unwillingness of the older chiefs to consent to good and wholesome plans, which are calculated, in the judgment of the wise and good, to build up his nation, to make them respectable in the eyes of Christian nations and to educate the rising generation among us in such a way as shall terminate in their welfare here and in promoting the best interests of their souls hereafter. "If it were only the education of these few," said he, "which are here now, it would be comparatively of little consequence; but it is establishing a precedent for hundreds who may yet enter your school from among our nation. This makes me anxious," says he, "on the subject, and I wish you to know that I am determined to drop my work, and shall not rest till I have done my endeavor to have it brought about agreeably to your wishes and mine, before the arrival of the commissioners."

We believe verily that God has put [this] in his heart and that we shall yet see, that God will not suffer the expectation of the righteous to perish.

Sabbath, Aug. 3. Met for religious worship as usual. Discourse: the story of Daniel. There appears nothing very unusual in our religious assemblies on the Sabbath, but we think we see a growing respect and attention to the truth which is so feebly delivered from Sabbath to Sabbath. We do think the more wild and careless part of our auditory seem of late to be overawed by the truth, and more disposed to be respectful during the performance of our exercises. Still however we labor under a great disadvantage in our present mode of communicating religious truth to this people. Oh to be able to speak to them in their own language, [of] the wonderful works of God, or if God would be pleased to send us a pious interpreter, one who could feel and rightly enforce those solemn truths of God's word

which are alone able to build up this heathen people. We might then be encouraged to hope that the prospects of success among them were flattering. But shall we not conclude that the ways of God are true and righteous altogether? Shall we dare despond or be discouraged when God the living God has promised to direct, sustain and comfort us under all disadvantages of toil and impediments to success? In the meantime we are encouraged to hope that whenever this mission becomes properly regulated and the necessary hands at work it will be in the power of the Superintendent to devote more of his time to the acquisition of the language and to proper missionary work.

Monday, Aug. 4. The boys are quite cheerful in entering upon the labors of the morning and seem to be emulous to excel each other in their amount of work. They have chopped and corded at intervals between the hours of school during the spring and summer nearly forty cords of wood, which we think is no mean specimen of what might be done if there were a person in connection with the mission who would have it as a particular object to lay out and superintend the different kinds of labor to be performed on a mission farm.

Sabbath, Aug. 10. We have been much gratified of late to witness a growing seriousness among the children. They have been seen to weep freely during a conversation with them on the concerns of eternity. Today one of our most interesting girls was observed to be in tears during church service. On the return of the children from the place of worship we were pleased to see them of their own accord retire into the school-room, one and all, for the purpose of holding a prayer-meeting among themselves. Both boys and girls in their turn knelt down and in an audible voice poured forth their infant petitions before the throne of Grace. Surely it is easy for God, out of the mouths of these babes and sucklings, to perfect his own praise. They also sang several hymns.

Tuesday, Aug. 19. We were this day visited by a very dear friend and brother, Rev. Alfred Chester of Hartford, Conn. This gentleman appears to us to take a deep interest

in everything relating to the building-up of Christ's kingdom in the world, especially among the heathen. We trust we shall long remember the assurances of his love to the cause and to us as the honored instruments of promoting it. Visited the Cattaraugus mission with this brother.

Saturday, Aug. 23. The Indians are fast collecting at Buffalo to receive their annuity at the hands of the agent. We understand that no business of importance will be transacted aside from the distribution, and that the council house at Seneca Village will not be opened.

Monday, Aug. 1, 1823.* A few of the young people and chiefs met this evening to join in the monthly concert, the older chiefs being absent in attending a land council on the Genesee River. After joining in prayer and singing a word of exhortation was addressed to them from the words, "Prepare to meet thy God." After the conclusion of our exercises I addressed one of our interesting young men who appeared unusually feeble, on the present state of his health. He replied, "It is very poor." "How long since have you been languishing?" "About two years since I was considerably oppressed with a pain here"—laying his hand on his breast—"but find that [it] has increased much since last spring." "And are you ready to meet God, if he should soon call you from time into eternity?" After a little pause he replied, that he had fears on that subject; how far he was actually prepared he could not say. He could only say, he was daily asking and pleading for mercy at the hand of God and our Saviour; and as I was their minister and appointed to explain to them the word of God, which had been so long covered from their view, he should faithfully listen to my instructions, and he hoped that I would be able to lead him in the way of salvation. He was afterwards exhorted to go immediately to Christ for the pardon of all his sins, and for preparation of death.

Monday, Aug. 8. Our hearts were rejoiced this evening by the arrival of Rev. Dr. Spring, one of the Board's commissioners to this station. Dr. Milledoler and lady expected tomorrow. Council appointed Wednesday.

* These dates, though inconsistent, are as they stand in the original journal.

Tuesday, Aug. 9. Went to the village of Buffalo to escort the Rev. Dr. ——— and his lady. Oh that this event may be blessed of God for the spiritual welfare of the poor Senecas. In the evening a lecture was preached by Dr. Milledoler at the close of which Mary Ann Davenport, daughter of James C. Crane of Tuscarora station; Louisa La Tourrette, daughter of T. S. Harris, and Alexander Semple, son of James Stephenson, were baptised.

Wednesday, Aug. 10. The council and its decisions.

Thursday, Aug. 11. This day the commissioners proceeded to the Cattaraugus station, up the lake 30 miles south. Their business there, important in its nature, has been transacted with much celerity, and greatly to the satisfaction of all the parties. Previous to the council with the natives the commissioners had the opportunity of witnessing the improvement of Mr. Thayer's school, with which they expressed themselves highly gratified. The council was but thinly attended, but their talk with the commissioners was extremely tender and affecting.

Friday, Aug. 12. The commissioners returned from Cattaraugus this morning and after dinner left us for Buffalo in order to take the morning stage for Albany. May the God of all peace and consolation reward them abundantly for "all their work and labor of love" transacted at these several stations.

Sept. 17. In compliance with the request which was urged in a communication to the Synod of Genesee from the Revs. Drs. Milledoler and Spring, commissioners on the part of the United Foreign Missionary Society, to take some measure which should tend efficiently to promote the cause of that Society, the synod now in session at Buffalo have unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Synod earnestly recommend it to all the congregations under their care to make collections in money, clothing and provisions in aid of the United Foreign Missionary Society, in behalf of the natives on the Indian reservations within our bounds, and forward the same to Mr. Abner Bryant of Buffalo; the Rev. Joseph Penny of Rochester; and to Mr. William H. Wells, Batavia; agents

